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VOLUME VII SEPTEMBER, 1963 NUMBER 3

SPECIAL BONIFACIO NUMBER

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PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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ANDRÉS BONIFACIO *

By Epifanio de los Santos **

The biography of Andres Bonifacio by one of the more discerning scholars of the Philippines is one of the more critical biographies written about the father of the Revolution and of Philippine Democracy.

If there ever was any man or national hero towards whom fate as well as certain portion of the public opinion among nationals and foreigners have been cold and hostile to the extent of objecting to his being given due recognition, that man was Don Andres Bonifacio, the father of the Revolution and of Philippine Democracy. The racial instinct, however, and especially the popular instinct, have, with admirable certainty of judgment, pronounced themselves in his favor and have imposed silence upon the sinister raven and stimulated the curious, inquisitive spirits to inquire into and find the reasons for the popular verdict. Moreover, a vindication of the man and of the Katipunan has been demanded by the public opinion which, in order that its verdict may be reasonable and just, it is certainly the duty of every Filipino citizen to enlighten. The following lines are merely a small contribution of critical history and are, like all information, susceptible to rectification, which will be frank and spontaneous on our part.

Don Andres Bonifacio was born in the district of Tondo, Manila, on November 30, 1863. His parents were Santiago Bonifacio and Catalina de Castro. He had two brothers, Procopio and Ciriaco, and a sister who became the wife of Teodoro Plata. He was not favored by fortune and was compelled to live of the proceeds of rather modest occupations, among them those of vendor of canes and paper fans, of messenger of the firm Fleming & Co., and of broker for tar and other articles for the same firm. He then entered the employ of Fressell & Co., where he was storekeeper when the events of 1896 occurred. His parents whom he is said to have lost at the age of 14 years, gave him some education. The informant from whom we obtained these data does not state what this education consisted.

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* Reprinted from *The Philippine Review,* III (Nos. 1-2, January and February, 1918), pp. 34-58. A copy can be found at the Malacañang Library. Paging in bracket [ ] indicates the paging in the original article. The paging was checked by one of the Associate Editors. The *Philippine Historical Association* mimeographed the biographical sketches of Andres Bonifacio, M. H. del Pilar and Emilio Jacinto in 1957, but it was a limited edition. The Association has received numerous requests that the same be published, and it is in answer to that need that we are making this available to the general readers.

** Epifanio de los Santos y Cristobal (1871-1928) was a Filipino scholar, art critic, historian, biographer and bibliophile. He was also director of the National Library. Among his other works are: "A Short History of Tagalog Literature" in *Builders of a Nation* by Maria M. Norton; also in Quirino and Hilario, *Thinking for Ourselves* (Manila, Oriental Company, 1926); "Efemerides Filipinas" in *Cultura Filipina,* "More About Rizal" in *The Philippine Review*, etc.

Retana says in his *Vida Y Escritos del Dr. Rizal* that Fressell's bodega served also as personal archives of Don Andres, and the said archives were seized by the Guardia Civil Veterana of Manila for use as evidence in the big case instituted by Colonel Olive. When a separate case was prepared against Dr. Rizal, such papers of Andres Bonifacio's as were pertinent were attached to the record of the same.

The following are the documents annotated by Retana:

> "1. *Letter of Antonio Luna, dated Madrid, October 16, 1888, and addressed to D. Mariano Ponce.* My dear friend Mariano:— Rizal has very well said of Lete that he does not serve for big enterprises. Consult with him concerning that designation Llorente's as director of the paper. Rizal knows them both; he also knows Llorente's capacity and is very intimate with him, because both are young men of sterling value and Rizal has a very good opinion of Llorente. Ask him for advice and heed well what he tells you. Tell him that I have induced Llorente to accept the position of director. — An embrace, and take the matter to Rizal for his advice. Thine, Antonio. — P.S. Tear this letter up after noting its contents. Send me immediately Rizal's London address."

> "2. *Letter of J. Rizal to his brother, dated Madrid, August 20, 1890.* (After informing them that he had been unable to speak to the Minister of Grace and Justice concerning certain administrative proceedings instituted against several persons): 'If the authorities (of the Philippines) were intelligent, there would not be any treacherous administrative proceedings, nor graft, nor infamies. I see the hand of Providence in these banishments of intelligent persons to remote places, to keep awake the spirit of the people and not to allow them to slumber in lethargic peace, to accustom the people not to fear danger, to hate tyranny, etc. Tomorrow I shall see what will be the result of my interview with the Minister. Many regards to all; I kiss our parents' hands. — Your brother, MADUDE'."

> "3. *Letter of Marcelo H. del Pilar, addressed to Deodato Arellano and dated Madrid, January 7, 1891.*—Yesterday, on Epiphany, we gave a lunch to Rizal. Rizal desires to perpetuate *La Solidaridad* in the Filipino colony and I opposed it. — Regards to all and receive a fraternal embrace from your VZKKQJC DEL PILAR."

"4. *Kundiman.* Poem dated Manila (sic), September 12, 1891. (Rizal was at Ghent). It reads thus:

'KUNDIMAN

(*Tagalog Song.*)

In the beautiful East
Where the sun rises,
A fair land
Resplendent with charms
In heavy chains
The despot keeps.
Alas! 'tis my country,
The country I love.
Like a slave she is dying,
In irons languishing:
Oh, happy man he
Who could liberate her!"

5. *Letter of Carlos Oliver, dated Barcelona, September 18, 1891, and addressed... (no mention of the addressee).* Dear Sir: — You will be right if you consider me insolent for addressing you without having the honor of your acquaintance; but it is not the humble person whose name is signed at the foot of this letter, but the patriot who, in his smallness, wishes to collaborate in the regeneration of his oppressed country. We have learned with general regret that among the worthy members of your Committee there is a prejudice against Rizal. In one of his letters, this same R. writes me what I shall transcribe literally, as follows: 'I much regret that they have declared war against me and are assailing my good name in the Philippines, but I shall suffer with resignation if only he who takes my place will continue the work begun. I only ask those who say I cause discord among the Filipinos whether there was anything like solid union before I entered upon my political activities? Was there any chief whose authority I wanted to dispute? It is sad to think that while in bondage, we throw things at each other's heads! I am glad to learn of your enthusiasm for founding a newspaper; I hope it will have the same aspiration as the "Sol..." (La Solidaridad); it is one more champion.' Upon reading this, I ask anyone who contemplates the future of the Philippines and knows that her road is beset with danger at every step, as she is the victim of the most tyrannical oppression: Is it thus that you reward the man who patriotically and unselfishly, has disregarded his own interest and is sacrificing (for his country?), working for it in order to take his place by the side of his brethren and encourage them and have them ready for the moment of the struggle? He who still believes in a Providence can not but see in him the man she sent us in order that he may lead us to the promise land of Liberty. I deem it superflous to recommend to you that silence must be preserved upon this point. I improve this opportunity by assuring you that I am your obedient servant.—CARLOS OLIVER."

"6. *Masonic document* (February 9, 1892).

TO THE GLORY OF THE GREAT ARCHITECT OF THE UNIVERSE

Universal Freemasonry. *Philippine Family.*

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY

The Central Grand Lodge "Nilad" of Free and Accepted Masons in the Federation of the Gran Oriente Español (See in Madrid) — sends

S∴ F∴ U∴

to the beloved Brother Dimas-alang (Rizal); and informs him that at a stated meeting held on January 31, ultimo, it was resolved by this Lodge to appoint as Honorary Venerable Master this Worshipful Grand Lodge of the aforesaid Brother to whom the undersigned Secretary and Keeper of the Seals addresses these presents, as a reward for the eminent services rendered by him to his native country. He is likewise informed that he will in due time be advised of the plan of masonic reorganization presented by the undersigned to the Gran Oriente Español, praying for plenary authority to form a separate family, as we in fact erected our columns on the sixth day of last January. Which I transcribed for your information. —Receive, dear Brother, the kiss of peace sent you by the brethren of this Lodge. Valley of Manila, February 9, 1892 (common era). —PANDAY PIRA (PEDRO SERRANO LAKTAW.)"

"7. *Letter of Dimas-alang* (Rizal) to Bro. Teuluz (Zulueta), *dated Hongkong, May 24, 1892.*—(After censuring an article by Lete in *La Solidaridad,* which he finds offensive and satisfaction for which he leaves to the discretion of the Committee, he adds): "I repeat once more: I do not see any reason for attack, now that I am engaged in preparing for our countrymen a safe refuge in case of persecution (*the agricultural colony of North Borneo*) and in writing some works of propaganda which will soon be published. The article moreover, is highly impolitic and detrimental to the Philippines. Why say that the first thing we need is money? One does not say anything about what everybody knows and dirty linen must not be washed in public. Fraternal greetings to all. Yours affectionately. — DIMAS-ALANG."

"8. *Letter of Dimas-alang* (Rizal) *to the Committee of* ....? *dated Hongkong, July 1, 1892.*—Dear brethren. (Speaks of the establishment of an agricultural colony in North Borneo and concludes) 'Without anything further, I hope your Committee will assist us in this patriotic labour, as he calls it. —Your Bro. DIMAS-ALANG'."

"9. *An anonymous communication, without date.* (Middle of July, 1892?.—WHAT INIQUITY! — The Director of the newspaper *Hongkong Telegraph.*—Dear Sir: —By a decree of the chief executive of the Philippine Archipelago.........." (Censure of Rizal's banishment just ordered by General Despujol.)

"10. *Letter to Ildefonso Laurel, dated Manila, September 3, 1892.* — Sr. D. Jose Rizal, Dapitan. Dear friend and countryman. Upon my arrival here I learned in the Bay of the sad misfortune that has befallen you. One evening when I was visiting at your house, your father gave me the news that you will soon be pardoned. How glad we should be if this were to come true! The state of mind of the people is latent and they are always waiting for you as their redeemer and saviour. Do not doubt the fidelity of your countrymen; they all deplore the treachery of which you are the victim and are all ready to spill their blood for your salvation and that of our country. All greet you through me and send you that embrace of love for our country which all desire some day united to die. — ILDEFONSO LAUREL. P.D. — Our friend D. Deodato Arellano tells me he has received two letters from Madrid addressed to you, but has so far been unable to forward them, as he has no way of sending them; he therefore awaits your pleasure."

"11. *Letter of Rizal Segundo (Pseudonym of............?) dated, Manila, September 17, 1893.*—(Says that on September 16th. Doroteo Cortes and Ambrosio Salvador were arrested in their homes, and adds): 'and brought before the Civil Governor, who ordered them immediately deported to the districts of Principe and Bontoc.' (The letter is addressed to the *Hongkong Telegraph,* and the contributor deplores the condition of the Filipinos, saying that they are being tyrannized more and more. He attributes these deportations to the friars who considered the individuals mentioned as 'friends of Rizal!)"

"12. *Letter of Marcelo H. del Pilar, dated Madrid, June 1, 1893, and addressed to D. Juan A. Teuluz* (Juan Zulueta).—My dear friend: (After informing him of the disagreements he had with Rizal and deploring the great harm done to the interests of Masonry by Pedro Serrano, who had misappropriated certain funds raised for "Propaganda" purposes, he adds): 'The peninsular Masonry is a means of propaganda for us. If the Masons there pretend to make Masonry an organ of *action* for our ideals, they make a very bad mistake. What is needed is a special organization (the Katipunan?), devoted especially to the Filipino cause; and although its members, or some of them, may be Masons, they must not depend upon Masonry. Apparently this is to be done by the L(iga) F(ilipina). —Without more for today, regards.—MARCELO'."

"13. *Speech by Emilio Jacinto (at a meeting of the Katipunan:* concludes): 'In the meantime, let us stimulate our hearts with these cries: Cheers for the Philippines! Cheers for Liberty! Cheers for DOCTOR RIZAL! Unity! — (Manila), July 23, 1893'."

"14. *Speech by Jose Turiano Santiago (at the same meeting; concludes)*: "Let us shout at once: Cheers for the Philippines! Cheers for Liberty! Cheers for the eminent DOCTOR RIZAL! Death to the nation of oppressors! Manila, Santa Cruz, July 23, 1893. — TIK-TIK'."

"15. A *Talisay.*—Fragment of a poem written by Rizal at Dapitan, 1895."

Pio Valenzuela, upon testifying in the *cause celebre,* said "Andres Bonifacio has read a great deal and had a library which was burnt on occasion of the fire; *he went without sleep at night in order to read* . . . and used to talk about the French Revolution." According to Dr. Valenzuela, Don Andres Bonifacio had begun to study the third year of secondary instruction in one of the private schools of Manila, and the library mentioned in the case had been formed with contributions by Andres Bonifacio, Emilio Jacinto and himself; that those on law were the property of Emilio Jacinto; those on medicine that of Dr. Valenzuela, and the rest belonged to Andres Bonifacio.

We are indebted to Dr. Valenzuela for the following list:

Life of the Presidents of the United States.
History of the French Revolution. In two volumes.
La Solidaridad. In three volumes.
Noli Me Tangere.
El Filibusterismo.
International Law.
Civil Code.
Penal Code.
Ruins of Palmyra.
Religion within the reach of all.
The Bible. In 5 volumes.
Les Miserables. By Victor Hugo.
The Wondering Jew, and

quite a selection of novels, especially by the Dumas, father and son. Among these, the following were Andres Bonifacio's exclusive property: *History of the French Revolution; La Solidaridad; El Filibusterismo; Les Miserables,* by Victor Hugo; *The Wandering Jew,* and the *Ruins of Palmyra.* We therefore see that Don Andres Bonifacio had not only received some academic education, but that he was very familiar with the work of the *forerunners* of the Revolution, regarding which he had gathered quiet an archive, and that he had also a modest library, the books in which were not chosen at random, but were the most suited to the part which he was soon to perform in so heroic a manner. In a revolutionary manifesto translated into English in the midst of the struggle in Cavite. And though the translation may not be his, it is to be gathered that he knew something of the English language, because his business relations with the foreign firms probably were not in vain. We know of no documents of his in Spanish, but in Tagalog only, but it is to be supposed that he read Spanish fluently, seeing that the works above cited were all written in that language. Under the title of *Pahimakas,* he has bequeathed to posterity one of the best Tagalog versions of Rizal's *Ultimo Adios,* which was written to the tune of whistling bullets of the enemy and was sung by the combatants in our trenches.

The *Wandering Jew* by Eugene Sue was one of the favorite books of Bonifacio, as Dr. Valenzuela tells us. And, by coincidence, it was also one of Rizal's who gave the following opinion on this book: "I have today finished reading the *Wandering Jew,* one of the novels that have seemed to me the best thought out and the product of talent and meditation. The gentle language of Lamartine, does not speak to the heart. It imposes, dominates, confuses, subjugates, but does not make you weep. I do not know whether it is because I am hardened. It reminds me very much of the Mohicans of Paris."

As the *Ruins of Palmyra,* it must be mentioned that his book was in vogue at the time. This can be understood. The revolution as the supreme remedy had already taken possession of some minds and the *Ruins* came to be like fuel added to the flames, because this book was also entitled *Meditations on the Revolution of the Empire,* and in it the Revolution of 1789 was already felt. Inasmuch as the evils of society have their origin in the unbridled desires and lusts, the offsprings and companions of ignorance, and as the entire history of the peoples is always the outcome of hypocritical pretense and a series of errors the correction whereof is only possible when the prudent and the circumspect are the rulers of the human throng instead of the impostors and hypocrites, because, the same as in the History of Samuel, by the author of the *Ruins,* the general run of humanity is usually ruled and led by men superior in craft and malice to the rest of the people, whom they subjugate and exploit; did not all this, coupled

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with the doctrines of *El Filibusterismo,* which novel Andres Bonifacio preferred to the *Noli,* presage the advent of the *Katipunan*?

From the *Ruins* to the *History of the French Revolution* there is but one step. As we have already said elsewhere, the Philippine Revolution was a daughter of the French Revolution. The men who prepared or precipitated it always have had a certain fascination for countries thirsting for liberty. Dr. Rizal himself had the highest regard for Voltaire, and beginning with 1891 or 1892, a leaflet by Dr. Rizal, entitled *Ang Mga Karapatan ng Tawo,* passed from hand to hand in the Islands which was nothing but a Tagalog view of the Rights of Man proclaimed by the French Revolution of 1789. And even the Americans were unable to escape its influence, it will be understood that the Filipinos were not capable of doing that which men more practically had been unable to do. It is not a secret to anybody that the famous poet and critic James Russell Lowell, writing of Rousseau, said that Rousseau was, in politics, the father of Jefferson and Thomas Paine and of American democracy; that without Rousseau, the Declaration of Independence would have lacked those sentences by which the eternal longings of the poor and the dreams of the solitary enthusiast received their final sanction in the proclamation of a nation, so that the whole world could hear them.

In view of these antecedents, and as it was the firm conviction of Andres Bonifacio that the campaign of *La Solidaridad* and the works of Marcelo H. del Pilar and of Rizal himself had only succeeded in aggravating the critical situation of the Islands, which made a change of *methods* necessary, the *Katipunan* did not delay long in materializing. Nevertheless, Bonifacio tried less violent methods before organizing it; he followed the progress of Masonry in the Islands and took in an active part in the *Liga Filipina,* to which he gave great impulse until he finally became convinced of its uselessness and reorganized it, as Mabini says, "under the name of *Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan* (Society of the Sons of the People), already with separatist aims." Mabini gives an extensive account of the organization of the *Liga,* and of its failures and difficult progress, and of the astounding success of the *Katipunan.*

"Upon seeing the poor success of all work performed without order or concert, Rizal conceived the formation of a society entitled *Liga Filipina,* which was inaugurated a few days before his deportation to Dapitan, on the island of Mindanao. The constitution of this society limited itself to creating by the vote of the members of the *Liga,* popular councils in the pueblos, a provincial council in each province, and a supreme council for the entire Archipelago, but it did not determine the aims and purposes of the association. I do not know whether those aims were determined at the first meeting presided over by Rizal in person, because I was not present and never had relations of friendship with the illustrious doctor. All I can say is that the society was dissolved a few days after its inauguration, on account of the deportation of the founder; and that later on, when it *reorganized through the initiative of Domingo Franco, Andres Bonifacio and others,* they appointed me secretary of the supreme council. We then determined the aims of the society in a short program, in the following or similar terms: Sustain *La Solidaridad* and support the reforms requested by the newspaper but also those of the meetings held in public in Spain in support of these reforms, and of the Deputies upholding them in Congress; in one word, we resolved to exhaust all peaceful and legal means, converting the society into a political party."

"The society had no better luck this time, as it was forced to dissolve after a few months of existence. Nevertheless the beginning was promising: the majority of the members of the supreme council were known for their enlightenment, patriotism, and social position, and *thanks to the efforts of Andres Bonifacio and the others,* the popular councils of Tondo and Trozo were soon organized; and those Santa Cruz, Ermita, Malate, Sampalok, etc., organized. Each member was subsequently required to pay a small amount for monthly dues, the proceeds of which were applied to the expenses of the newspaper, which were the most urgent. The members paid in the beginning, but left off paying after a while, claiming that they were not agreeable to that purpose, as they were convinced that the Spanish government paid no attention to the paper, nor would it ever pay any other legal means. It appeared from the investigations made that the commissions for the establishment of popular councils had not required the acceptance of the program as a prerequisite for admission to the society, *on the contrary, Andres Bonifacio who, through his tireless activity, had gained the most adepts for the society was*

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firmly convinced of the usefulness of peaceful means. The supreme council, which was rather a committee on organization, seeing that its members had not been elected by suffrage, saw clearly that as soon as the members would elect those that were to be officers in accordance with the constitution, the program would undergo a change, *and the members of that recognized for the first time as regards political aspirations, the popular masses whom the Spaniards considered as insensible or at least indifferent, occupied the front rank.* Seeing that the efforts for reconciliation and compromise remained without result, the council declared the society dissolved, in order to prevent the authorities from obtaining knowledge of the same through dissension among its members. Those who were in favor of continuing the paper, formed a body called *Compromisarios* (pledgors), because each of them pledged himself to pay a monthly contribution of five pesos for the support of the paper. *Andres*

Bonifacio, on the other hand reorganized the society under the name of KATIPUNAN NG MGA ANAK NG BAYAN (Society of the Sons of the People) already with separatist aims."

"The Katipunan spread very rapidly, because the insolent and provoking manner in which the friars conducted their campaign of opposition had exasperated the popular masses; but if the organization of political societies had then been permitted in the Archipelago and the middle class, which was the most educated and influential, had been able to move freely, there is no doubt that the popular sentiment could have been calmed and the growth of the Katipunan prevented, because that class was resolutely in favor of the program of the Liga, even after they had passed through most cruel torments, and still more after the Biak-na-bato treaty."

To this we only need to add that the foundation of the Katipunan was precipitated by the deportation of Dr. Jose Rizal. According to the testimony of Jose Dizon, this society was founded in a flat on Calle Ilaya, in the afternoon of July 7, 1892, the same day on which the Gaceta published the decree of deportation issued by Despujol. The society was then composed of Andres Bonifacio, Deodato Arellano, Valentin Diaz, Teodoro Plata, Ladislao Diwa, and Jose Dizon, and since the founders were in peril of their lives at any moment, they adopted the most extreme precautions in order to escape the Argus eye of the authorities, which precautions also prevented a greater diffusion of the society among the masses and made of it something in the nature of a synagogue of a few bold spirits to whom life was nothing. The society, says Pio Valenzuela, was constituted in the form "of two triangles with the bases inverted and communicating by the vertices of their angles." And while Andres was in a position to know all the members, these did not know either their leaders or the members. Andres Bonifacio finally realized that if the society continued as it was, it would not benefit the popular masses. Therefore, upon the initiation of Emilio Jacinto, the man who subsequently became the soul of the society, they both established a new policy, that of propagating the society by means of committees. Bonifacio and Jacinto first secured a small printing press; then they got out a *Primer* for the society, something like a revolutionary code, entitled *Liwanag at Dilim* (Light and Darkness), and then something like a commercial code, entitled *Samahan ng Bayan sa Pangangalakal* (Commercial Association of the People), and, especially, they founded an organ for the purpose of defending the interests of the Katipunan and of serving as an efficient means of propaganda and of communication with initiates of the society.

Before the approval of the famous *Cartilla* (primer) of Emilio Jacinto, Andres Bonifacio had already prepared a similar primer, but withdrew it because Emilio Jacinto's seemed better to him. Don Andres did not call his primer decalogue, though it was one in appearance, but simply *Katungkulang Gagawin ng* Z.Ll.B. (Duties of the S(ons) of the P(eople). It reads as follows:

DUTIES OF THE SONS OF THE PEOPLE

1. Love God with all thy heart.
2. Always bear in mind that the true love of God is the love of thy country, and that this love is also the true love for thy fellow-men.
3. Engrave in thy heart that the height of honor and happiness is to die in order to save one's country.
4. Calmness, constancy, reason, and faith in all work and actions crown every good desire with success.
5. Maintain the mandates and aims of the K.K.K. like thy honor.
6. It is of the incumbency of all to deliver and aid, at the risk of their own lives and property, and any one who runs great risk in the performance of his duties.
7. Let the acts of each in good government and the performance of duties be such as to serve as an example to his neighbor.
8. In so far as it is within thy power, share thy means with every indigent or unfortunate person.
9. Diligence in the efforts to earn means of subsistence is the genuine love for one's self, one's spouse, son, daughter, brother, sister, and compatriot.

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10. Believe in the punishment of every scoundrel and traitor and in the reward of every good act. Believe, likewise, that they aims of the K.K.K. are God-given, and that desires for thy country are therefore also desires of God.

The *Verdadero Decalogo* of Mabini is therefore the third of the decalogues. The first was Andres Bonifacio's and the second Emilio Jacinto's. What gave the most strength to the society was, however, the publication of the review *Kalayaan* (Liberty). Of this review there were only two issues, and the second, gotten out by Jacinto, was never put in circulation. The first contained articles by E. Jacinto, Andres Bonifacio, and Pio Valenzuela. The second was Jacinto's exclusive work. The *saludo* (Sa Mga Kababayan) was a rearrangement of an article of Marcelo H. del

Pilar's in *La Solidaridad;* Andres Bonifacio and Pio Valenzuela (Madlang-Awa) collaborated in this article. Andres Bonifacio signed as *Agapito Bagum-Bayan;* the other pseudonym, *Pingkian, Dimas-Ilaw* etc., were Jacinto's. The best articles were by *Pingkian* and Andres Bonifacio; Pio Valenzuela was reporter. These especially of the founder of the Katipunan were poetry and history in the vernacular. Dr. Valenzuela tells us that the article and poem entitled *Ang dapat mabatid ng mga Tagalog* (What the Filipinos should know) and *Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Bayan* (Love of Country) were written by Bonifacio. The following are an English translation of these two products of the pen of the founder of the Katipunan:

WHAT THE FILIPINOS SHOULD KNOW

> Of old, previous to the arrival of the Spaniards, these Islands were governed by our own compatriots who were then living in the greatest abundance and prosperity. These maintained good relations with their neighbors, especially with the Japanese, and traded with them in commodities of all sorts. The result was that wealth and good customs were a common patrimony; young and old, the women included, knew how to read and write, using their own alphabet. But the Spaniards came, with the pretense of peace. The persons then governed us flattered by their honeyed tempting words, allowed themselves to be deceived by their offers to guide us on the paths of wisdom and increased prosperity. They were, however, obliged to comply with the ritualistic customs of the islanders, to give binding force to their compacts by means of an oath of peace, which consisted in taking a small quantity of blood from the veins of the contracting parties and then drinking the blood so mixed, as evidence that they were to be absolutely true and loyal to their allies. This was called the Pact of Blood (which was concluded) between King Sikatuna and the representative of the King of Spain, Legaspi.
>
> Since then, for over three hundred years, we have been supplying (the wants) of the race of Legaspi with largesse and have enriched them with abundance, despite the hunger that we ourselves have suffered. We have wasted our wealth and blood and even given our lives in their defense; we have even fought our compatriots who could not willingly submit to their yoke; we have combated the Chinese and the Dutch who attempted to wrest the Islands from them.
>
> Now, after all this, what comfort or liberal concession have they bestowed upon us in exchange for all our sacrifices? How have they kept the contract, the cause, precisely, of our sacrifices? Our munificence they have rewarded with treachery, and far from guiding us on the path of knowledge, they have blinded us and contaminated us with their infamous procedure. They have en-

deavored to make us abandon our good customs; they have initiated us in a false belief and have dragged the honor of the people into the mire. And if we dare beg for a scrap of love, they give us banishments instead and tear us away from our beloved children, our wives, and our old parents. Every sigh that we utter they brand as a sin and immediately punish it with implicable ferocity.

Now nothing is to be seen of popular tranquility, now our peace is constantly being disturbed by incessant rumors of complaints and prayers, of the wailing and grief of orphans, widows, and parents of countrymen, ours whom the dominator has wronged; of the tears of mothers whose sons have been put to death; of the wail of tender children whom cruelty has made orphans, and each tear is like a drop of molten lead that lacerates our suffering wounded heart; now they tighten more and more the links of the chains of vassalage that dishonor every man of integrity. What, then, must we do? The sun of reason that shines in the East clearly shows into our eyes which, alas! have been blind so long, the way we must follow; by its light we can see the death-dealing claws in the outstretched hands of the malevolent. Reason tell us that we cannot expect anything but suffering upon suffering, treachery upon treachery, contempt upon contempt, and tyranny upon tyranny. Reason tells us that we must not waste our time waiting in vain for the promises of felicity that will never come, that will never materialize. Reason tells us that we must rely upon ourselves alone and never entrust our rights to life to anybody. Reason teaches us to be united in sentiment, thought, and purpose, so that we may acquire the strength necessary to crush the evil that is affecting our people.

It is time that light of truth should shine; time that we should show determination, honor, shame and mutual cooperation. The time is come now to diffuse the gospel that shall tear the tough web obscuring our intellect, and that the islanders should see whence come their misfortunes. Now it will be made evident that every step we are taking is on the unstable ground, on the brink of a horrible abyss of death, dug by our wily enemy.

Therefore, oh my compatriots! let us scatter the mist that befogs our intellect and let us consecrate all our force to the good cause, the unshakable and absolute faith in its success, in the ultimate prosperity, so anxiously desired by us, of the land of our birth.

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LOVE OF COUNTRY

1. Is there any love that is nobler
Purer and more sublime
Than the love of the native country?
What love is? Certainly none.

2. Though the mind may not cease reflecting
And shifting with perseverance
What humanity has printed and written
That will be the result, none other.

3. Sacred love! When thou reignest
In a loyal heart, be it even
A plebeian's, a rustic's untutored
The more our love grows — oh, marvel!

4. To give the fatherland boundless honor
Is the purpose of all who are worthy
And who sing, or compose, or make verses
To spread their country's glory.

5. There is nothing worth having the patriot
Will not give for his native land:
Blood and wealth, and knowledge and effort,
Even life, to be crushed and taken.

6. Why? What thing of infinite greatness
Is this, that all knees should be bended
Before it? that it should be held higher
Than the things most precious, even life?

7. Ah! the land it is that gave us birth,
Like a mother, and from her alone
Came the pleasant rays like the sun's
That warmed the benumbed body.

8. To her we owe the first breath
That enlivened the breast oppressed.
And smothered in the abyss
Of pain and grievous suffering.

9. With the love of country are coupled
All dreams and all ideals,
From joyful, restless childhood
Till the grave receive the body.

10. The time gone-by of gladness
And the day to come that we sigh for
When the yoke shall be taken from us:
What are they but dreams of the patriot?

11. Are every tree and branchlet
Of its woods and its laughing meadows
Bring back to the mind the memory
Of the mother and past days of gladness.

12. Its crystalline cooling waters
That flow from the springs in the mountains,
The soft murmur of swift current
Are balm to the heart that is dropping.

13. Unhappy the exile from the country!
His mind, full of sad recollection,
Is haunted by anxious longing
For the land where stood his cradle.

14. Misfortune and death seem lighter
When we suffer them for our country,
And the more that for it we suffer,
The more our love grows — oh, marvel!

15. If our land with danger is threatened
And help must be quickly forthcoming,
Children, wife, and parent and brothers
At her first call we must abandon.

16. And if our land with danger is threatened
Is offended, and outraged her honor
And her dignity into the mire
Is dragged by the foreign impostor:

17. Will by boundless grief not invaded
Be the heart of the Filipino?
And will not the most peaceful even
Rise to avenge her honor?

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18. And whence will it come, the vengeance,
The sacrifice of our life blood,
If at the end of the struggle,
We shall fall into cruel bondage?

19. If to her fall and prostration
Into the mire of fraud and derision.
Will be added the lash and shackles,
Naught being left her but mourning?

20. Who is there whom her condition
Will not fill the soul with sorrow?
Will the heart most hardened by treachery
Not be moved to give her its life blood?

21. Will not, perchance, her sorrow
Drive the Filipinos to come to the rescue
Of the mother in agony, trampled
Underfoot by the foe disgusting?

22. Where is the Filipino honor?
Where the blood that must be set flowing?
Their country in peril — why passive?
Will they calmly see her suffer?

23. Come ye, who have been living
Of future felicity dreaming
And have tasted naught but sorrow,
Come, love your unhappy country.

24. Ye, in whom the struggling desire
Has dried and springs of the bosom,
May true love again be born in you
And flow for your suffering country.

25. Ye, who have lost the fruit and the flower
Of the trees of this life, withered early
By so many perplexing sorrows,
Revive and succor your country.

26. Ye, who are propitious victims
Of deceits and bestial rigor,
Arise now to save your country,
Free her from the claws of the traitor!

27. Ye, wretches, who nothing demanded
But to live 'midst sorrows and torments,
Strike a blow to save your country,
Since she is our common mother.

28. Unto her in holocaust loving
The last drop of your blood you must offer,
If to free her your life you have given,
Yours is glory then and redemption.

Of this issue of the review, 1,000 copies were paid, which were distributed as follows: 200 in the province of Cavite, by Aguinaldo; 100 in Bulacan, by Valenzuela, and 700 in Manila, especially in what is now Rizal province, by Bonifacio himself. On account of the success of the first number, 2,000 copies were printed of the second number of the *Kalayaan,* but these it was not possible to distribute, as we have already stated, for the reason that the entire issue was seized by the Spanish authorities in the Casa Intendencia, now the palace of the Philippine Senate. When the first number of the *Kalayaan* was issued, in January 1896, the Association was already in a flourishing condition; it had already spread through the neighboring provinces, especially through Cavite, Bulacan, and Nueva Ecija. When the society was still governed by *triangles* (July to December 1892), according to Dr. Valenzuela, it consisted of 30 members at the most; but after it had been organized into committees, the membership amounted to 300 in 1895 and to several thousand in January, 1896, when the first number of the *Kalayaan* was issued.

Upon the discovery of the existence of the association by the Spanish authorities, in August, 1896, Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto, together with other members, took to the field and fought courageously against the Government forces. In battle, Bonifacio showed unusual valor and calmness. Although the struggle was an unequal one and Bonifacio ran the gravest risk of biting the dust, he worried more about the safety of his faithful friend Jacinto than about his own. But we shall not follow him through those days of his life, because not only is our purpose in this work a different one but the reader has sufficient material to which to refer, such as the newspapers of those days and several revolutionary chronicles published subsequently. Our object is more limited: to hear and read what he has said and to present him to our readers by means of his private correspondence, which is partly in cipher and therefore of a sincerity that makes it worthy of much credit; and then compare it with other explanatory and clarifying testimony, in order to make our deductions concerning the character of the man, his work, and the consequences of

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the same, not without stating, from time to time, our own small doubts, reservations, and personal remarks. We shall, therefore, follow his steps through Cavite, again taking as our guide Mabini, a character who seems to be of the family of the Great Plebeian.

II

"At that time (1896)—Mabini writes—the Katipunan had in the province two popular councils, one called Magdalo, at Kawit, presided over by D. Baldomero Aguinaldo, and that of Magdiwang, at Noveleta, under the direction of Don Mariano Alvarez. There were also several Katipuneros at San Francisco de Malabon, under the obedience of the council last named. Upon the receipt of the order for the uprising, given by Andres Bonifacio, the Katipuneros, aided by their friends, succeeded in surprising the posts of the Guardia Civil and killing of the Spanish officers and sergeants commanding them. With the few arms captured, the residents of Noveleta, under the command of Don Artemio Ricarte, repelled the troops of General Blanco on November 9, 1896, and those of Kawit, commanded by Don Emilio Aguinaldo, municipal captain of that pueblo, and Don Candido Tirona, who fell in the fight, recaptured, on the 11th of the same month, the *polvorin* of Binakayan which the Spaniards had taken a few days before.

"Thanks to these gains, the two popular councils referred to became provincial councils, that of Magdalo comprising the pueblos of Kawit, Imus, Bacoor, Perez Dasmariñas, Silang, Mendez Nuñez, and Amadeo, and that of Magdiwang the other pueblos of the province. *Andres Bonifacio, upon the invitation of several friends, went to Cavite for the purpose of uniting the efforts, of both councils, but Magdalo already paid but little attention to his authority and orders.* Fortunately Don Edilberto Evangelista, a resident of

Manila, who had graduated in civil engineering from the University of Ghent, Belgium, placed his services at the disposal of the insurrection and took charge of the construction of the trenches and other field fortifications which gave so much trouble to the Spanish forces. When General Polavieja, at the head of a considerable number of soldiers, came resolutely to take the province of Cavite, Edilberto, who had charge of the defense at Zapote River, fell fighting heroically on February 17, 1897. After that date, the Spaniards occupied successively the pueblos belonging to the Magdalo Council, the members of which finally found it necessary to withdraw to San Francisco de Malabon in order to join those of Magdiwang and agree with them as to the most suitable measures for the defense of the province. For this purpose the members of both Councils, together with the principal military commanders, held a meeting at the *casa-hacienda* of Tejeros, March 12, 1897. At this meeting, presided over by Bonifacio, it was resolved that a central government be elected to take charge of the general affairs of the insurrection. Don Emilio Aguinaldo was elected president and Don Mariano Trias vice-president. Bonifacio was elected Director of the Department of Interior, but offended by the action of several of those present, who objected to his appointment, alleging that he was incompetent, he left the meeting, declaring that as chief of the Katipunan, he did not recognize the validity of the resolution adopted. This notwithstanding, the persons elected took possession of their offices and Bonifacio, disgusted left with his two brothers for the mountains of San Mateo; but Sr. Aguinaldo sent after him two companies of soldiers with orders to arrest him. Bonifacio offered resistance and received three wounds on account of it, and one of his brothers and three of the captors were killed. The captors took him and his other brother to Naik and thence to Marigondon, and subsequently to Mount Buntis, where the two brothers were shot."

The account transcribed is in its essential features in accord with what appears from the private correspondence between Bonifacio and Jacinto, in addition to the thousand details concerning his personality, his acts, and the situation of the province of Cavite, which are in their majority useful to the historian and the critic. Here is the correspondence promised:

Don Emilio Jacinto Pedernal,
Chief of the Army of the North.

Dear Brother: — I have received all your letters and with them the money, powder, and saltpeter. Our brethren here are congratulating themselves & grateful for what you have sent, which is of peremptory necessity in the battles, and for the aid which you say you have rendered.

The trouble which you speak, which occurred in Manila on account of the proclamation of the carbineers and engineers, has greatly helped our brethren here. However, our enemies here are growing less and these pueblos are still in danger, so we as you there not to let up, and we will not rest, either, until we have rescued the pueblos they have taken from us, as you already know.

It is of urgent necessity that you gather up all the guns there, even if you have to pay for them, but they must become the property of the Association so that we may have a real and proper fighting

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army. If you succeeded in effecting this shortly, it will be an easy thing to invade any pueblo and fortify ourselves there in such a way that will not be easy for the enemy to reconquer the place.

The occupation of pueblos is really necessary, as it will give us time to prepare ourselves properly and establish an ordnance depot and will be feasible at any time; besides it will give us an advantage over the enemy, as we would otherwise have to take the offensive not having any arms.

I also received a letter from Brother M. Rogelio, who asks me to send implements and experts for making cartridges. I have thought of this necessity a long time ago, so I had the implements mentioned prepared at the same time as the things I sent you together with the workmen.

Here there is a lack of empty cartridges, because the enemies "have already found out, too, that these were useful to us" (nabatid na-man din na ito'y ating nagagamit); hence they "pick them up again" (pinupulot); send us whatever you can spare there.

You will received herewith a lot of percussion-caps which, when they will pass through "Noveleta" (Nobeleta) will total 1,000 instead of 500.

The brethren here have received from the "deceased" (namatay) "Sr. Dimas-alang (M. Dimas-alang) a letter from "Hongkong" (Hongkong), sent by a cousin of his who resides there, reporting the arrival of our two messengers "Jocson and Alejandrino" (Jocson at si Alehandrino); that both are unable to show any "power" (poder) also, that no "silver" (pilak na) has been received there and that for this reason they used the "money deposited" (salaping nalalagak) there by "Rizal and ask, besides, for power and money" (Rizal at humingi tuloy ng poder at salapi). This astonishes the brethren of Magdiwang very much, because everything requested has already been sent there and they are unable to find out why it has not arrived at its destination; they suspect a "miracle" (hiwaga) on the part of the brethren of "Magdalo" (Magdalo) or, perhaps, of "our agents" (ng ating mga inutusan) there. For this reason the brethren of "Magdiwang" (Magdiwang), together with ours there, will pay for everything, besides they will "no longer allow those of Magdiwang to take a part" (papakikialmin ang mga taga Magdiwang). The "power" (poder) I send you in order that you may sign it with Bro. Nakpil. The "power" (poder) was made out in the name of the "Committee" (Komite) organized there, as requested in the letter. This notwithstanding, we have hopes to obtain "arm" (armas) shortly and this is expected by the compatriot "Sr. Paciano" (M. Pasiano) at the "landing place" (aahunan) agreed upon.

The men who know how to set "spear traps" (balatek) for whom you ask I have already summoned from "Marigondon" (Marigondong), but they have not yet arrived; as soon as they arrive, I shall have them go to your place.

In my first reply to your letter I overlooked your inquiry concerning V. Fernandez. As you already know, he has committed a great crime against the people, the association and ourselves, and I therefore hope that you will soon apply to him the proper punishment. I think he is a spy there of the "envious ones of Magdalo, in order to seduce our men and enter here" (maingiting taga Magdalo at ng maupatan diyan ang ating mga tao at maipasok dito) the rifles. When the one who left here, "M. Natividad" (M. Natividad), who, I believe, has been "commissioned" (tinungkulan) "first, to induce" (una, umpuat), arrives there, you must proceed with circumspection and act as prudence may advise.

Here "the enmity between the two factions is very great" (lalong malaki ang pagkakaalit ng dalawang Sb.), because "those of Magdalo want" (Magdalo ay hinihiling na sila) "to rule and the entire Philippines" (ng mamahala sa lahat at sa buong Katagalugan), because they say nothing but the "Government of Imus" (Gobierno ng Imus) is recognized there and throughout Europe. This happened three days ago, when they came to "Malabon" (Malabon), accompanied by "P. Dandan" (P. Dandan), who is one of their faction.

The government they try to establish here is as follows: President and General-in-Chief "Magdalo" (Magdalo); Director of Military Works: "Baldomero" (Baldomero) and those of "Magdiwang" (Magdiwang) will simply act as subdirector or subminister. This plan, truly "disgusted" (ikinapupot) the "ministers of Magdiwang" (Ministros ng Magdiwang), who saw through their "game that if Imus is elected" (politica na kung mapipili ang Imus) "they will govern here in Malabon" (Mamahala dito sa Malabon). The selfishness of "Magdalo" (Magdalo) is truly "disgusting" (nakakasuklam) and has been the cause of their many reverses.

There is a brass foundry here and better cannon is cast than on the other side; neither melting-pot nor coke are necessary; a resident of Manila makes them very well. Hunt up some brass there and I shall send you cannons and *lantakas* immediately.

Your poem was translated by Binong, but has not yet been printed, owing to the lack of Spanish type.

The musical play of Nakpil has not yet been performed, because the fighting leaves us neither rest nor repose here.

I can not yet return there, because I am expecting the arrival of our "arms" (armas), in order that we may have our share even if it be no more than those introduced here by Luciano, which I can not take away from here on account of their being necessary here.

Luciano is already strong and able to walk; his repeating rifle is in his possession and I have not yet taken it up. The Mauser you will receive from the bearer; take good care of it, because it is the first weapon we used in the war. Only ten pesos were sent to your mother; the balance was used by men for gratifications and our expenses here. It is necessary that you send me more, for gratifications to the person who makes cannon and other implements, such as arrows and others. I paid the expenses of the bearer of this letter and those of the families of the two cartridge makers.

As regards my brother Ciriaco, he was the bearer of all you sent here and is unable to leave here for the present. For my part, if any person dares to use my name for illicit purposes, you are free to deal with him as may be just and proper. As to Nonay who has remained there, I ask you to look after her for the time being; I have not considered it prudent to have her come here on account of the great danger here.

I ordered the arrest of Nicolas de Lara and had the proper investigation made; it is urgent necessity that you forward the report of the persons who know what happened with the money.

Receive the affectionate embrace of your

ANDRES BONIFACIO

Br. PEDERNAL.

As regards the person from whom, according to you, the revolver will have to be taken, nobody knows him here; and the Captain "Mariano" (Mariano) whom you mentioned has perished in the engagement of Aromahan (napatay na sa labanan sa).

If you have to write me anything secretly, we must use the key of the second degree, because I usually receive your letters open here.

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It has been possible to get only 800 ready cartridges, though we are allowed 1,000 and even 2,000 here in Magdiwang, in exchange for your aid there, because since the fighting here shows no sign of abating, we are running short of cartridges, and nothing has as yet been done than that.

As soon as you have signed the power, have the bearer take it immediately where it must go.

Your brother,

8-3-97

ANDRES BONIFACIO
Maypagasa

Naik, April 16, 1897

Sr. EMILIO JACINTO PEDERNAL

Mr. Chief of the Army: — The disturbances here and the entrance of the enemy in the pueblos of Silang, P. Dasmarinas, Bacoor, Imus, Kawit, Noveleta, Malabon, Tansa, and Salinas have not left me any leisure for writing you and replying to your letters; however, I shall endeavor to do so and the bearer of the letter shall be our brother "Sr. Antonio Guevera" (Antonino Guebara), who has most important things to communicate to you.

I received what you sent me: two cans of powder, a bayon, of cartridge shells, and thirty pesos. The letters say 50, but only 30 were delivered to me, as I am informed that Brother Nakpil took the 20 pesos again.

The frequent attacks by the enemy on the pueblos abovementioned are due to the lack of unity and the customary dissension among the leaders, who remain obstinate, although the people are having a terrible time of it.

Capitan Emilio has received a letter sent by a Jesuit called Pio Pi and a Spaniard by the name of Rafael Comenge; this was before the capture of Imus, and in the letter the revolutionary chiefs are invited to lay down their arms and are promised a general pardon. Capitan Emilio made several conditions; expulsion of the friars, Deputies to the Cortes, and others, and endorsed the matter to M. Alvarez requesting his assent, Alvarez consulted me, and as we did not assent, those of Imus had Aguinaldo write secretly to the chiefs of the pueblos under Madiwang.

When President Mariano learned of this, he called a meeting of the people and asked them what was the general desire, and at that meeting it was resolved to continue the war against the Spaniards and not to admit any terms of conciliation. At said meeting it was further decided to establish a revolutionary government, but the thing resulted in a fiasco, because they all discovered the game of the Magdalo people and the convention accomplished nothing.

Owing to the turmoil and the defeats, the inhabitants here became terror-striken, and Tirona, Cailles, and Jose del Rosario, who were Minister of War, Lieutenant-General, and Director of War, surrendered to the Spaniards, and were followed by many officers and inhabitants of the pueblo of Tansa, all Magdalo men.

On account of these defections, of which the best of Capitan Emilio had knowledge, nearly all the brethren asked me on their knees to take them away from there, to which request I have no heed, as I was moved to compassion by the sad plight of so many citizens who, without being guilty, would suffer untold hardships and death.

The Batangas people have placed themselves under the orders of the S(upreme) C(ouncil), recognizing our authority; they will within three days begin to invade eight pueblos. For this under-taking they requested my assistance, and I gave them 20 riflemen and 20 bolomen, under the orders of Brother Artemio Ricarte.

A provincial government has already been established in Batangas; its general is called D. Miguel Malvar and he is a very intelligent man, better, perhaps, than the general now here, of Tanway.

In case they should be successful in taking the pueblo of Lipa, one of the 8 pueblos to be invaded, they wished me to establish myself there, in order to be able, as they say, to carry the war into Camarines. For this reason I wish to know from you whether I am badly needed there, because then I shall go there; otherwise I shall remain in Batangas.

It is really necessary for us to agree upon the movements for the purpose of generalizing the war and carrying it everywhere. I therefore desire to know whether you have already gone to Bulacan and Nueva Ecija, and if not, I shall leave somebody in charge here and we shall go there; because if we do not bestir ourselves, you know that "Mamerto Natividad" (Mamerto Natibidad) is there, who will be doing there what he did here: talk ill of us.

The arms have not yet arrived, and this delay is one of the causes which retain me here. Your mother is at Marigondon with a relative of hers there, and no mishap whatever has occurred to her.

Receive my affectionate embrace.

The C. Sup.,

ANDRES BONIFACIO
Maypagasa

DON EMILIO JACINTO PEDERNAL.

My dear Brother: — I received your letter dated the 19th of this month and took note of everything you say in it.

Since the enemy entered Silang and until the present writing, we have not been able to undertake anything except endeavor to deliver the pueblo from its precarious situation, and this is one of the causes of my silence. Before receiving yours, however, I wrote you through Sr. Antonino Guevara, of San Pedro Tunasan, and presume the letter must be already in your possession. I related to you the vicissitudes suffered by the pueblos of the district of Tanway taken by the Spaniards, viz.: Silang, Dasmariñas, Imus, Bacoor, Kawit, Noveleta, Malabon, Salinas, and Tansa; three or four of them were taken by the enemy without any struggle, and they will surely take the rest if selfishness and disruption have their way. This is the sole cause of the misfortunate of these pueblos. As to the convention held there on the 22nd of last month, the cause of it was that Captain Emilio Aguinaldo had received letters from a Jesuit and a Spaniard, Pio Pi and Rafael Comenge by name. These letters state that they will grant us the *most ample* *pardon,* and if not, they ask for a conference in order that we might tell them what we want. Both letters were endorsed by the Imus people to the Magdiwang chiefs, with a list of *conditions* for the Spaniards, in order that an agreement might be arrived at. The Magdiwang people did not agree, for the reason that I was absent from Tanway, at Look (Batangas), in those days; besides they denied representation to the Jesuit and Comenge, who lacked authority *ad hoc* for these matters.

When the Imus people received the reply of Magdiwang, Captain Emilio wrote secretly to the chiefs of the pueblos under the jurisdiction of Magdiwang concerning the compromise he wished to make with the Spaniards. When the President of Magdiwang learned this, he immediately called a convention of the people and sent for me to Look,

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and the convention referred to was held. In view of my explanations regarding the inadvisability of such a compromise with the Spaniards, all the persons present there were of the opinion that the war should continue.

The majority at this convention determined to organize a government; but I gave them to understand that this could not be, on account of the absence of the representatives of other districts, aside from an agreement having already been adopted at the convention at Imus; that all this annulled the majority, because in view of the present critical situation of these pueblos there was no time to wait for representatives from other places, and the Imus convention lacked validity, on account of the alleged absences of a minute-record. Nevertheless I assured those present there that in case the manifest will of the people governed in the election of officers, I would respect it.

When the election was held, there were elected, as President of the Republic, Don Emilio Aguinaldo; Vice-President, Don Artemio Ricarte; Director of War, Don Emilio R. de Dios. This was all by acclamation, as it was night. I was elected Director of Interior, also by acclamation, and was cheered by all, the same as the others who had been elected; but when the cheering was over and they were about to begin to elect a Director of Finance, Don Daniel Tirona, said that there were voices proclaiming Don Jose del Rosario as Director of Interior, and he thereupon insinuated that inasmuch as the office of the Director of Interior was a most exacting one, a learned man must be selected, and this he said after stating that it was not his intention to offend me. I forthwith replied that learned men were required for all the other offices also, and asked him of whom those elected he could point out to me as being a learned man. Nevertheless he shouted: "Acclaim as Director of the Interior Jose del Rosario, the lawyer." Nobody took up this acclaimation the fourth time that he shouted it, except a few who acclaimed me. In view of the turmoil, the President of Magdiwang made public that this was not a convention of serious men and that everything done there lacked validity. Moreover, before the election began, I discovered the underhand work of some of the Imus crowd who had quietly spread the statement that it was not advisable that they be governed by men from other pueblos, and that they should for this reason strive to elect Captain Emilio as President. As soon as I heard of this, I said that this meeting was dirty work, because this was what they were after and they were deceiving the people, adding that if they wished me to point out, one by one, those who were conducing themselves in this manner, I would do so. The majority said that this was no longer necessary. I also said that if the manifest will of the people was not complied with, I would not recognize, any of the chiefs elected, and I did not recognize them, they would not be recognized by our people there, either. Don Artemio Ricarte, the General-elect, also said at that meeting that his election was due to bad practices.

The Imus people met the next day at the Tansa convent and there they compelled the officers elect to take the oath, one by one as you can see by the attached document by Don Artemio Ricarte.

Those of Magdiwang, and especially those of Malabon, drew up protest and called Captain Emilio and Daniel Tirona, and at a meeting they made him resign the office of which he wanted to possess himself; hence it was necessary to issue on that same night a circular, which was published throughout all the pueblos of Tanway district, to the effect that his election by the convention referred to was void, and that matters in Magdiwang and Magdalo must remain as they were before.

I and our men totalling 20, armed with Remington rifles and about 20 with muzzle-loaders, with the necessary implements, left for the barrio of Jalang, of the pueblo of Indang, with the idea of returning there. We also had with us bolomen, numbering 1,000. As we only await what you and Don Antonio Guevara will decide, in accordance with the agreement between Guevara and myself, I expect to learn soon what you may see fit to decide concerning the plan of Sr. Guevara and myself.

As to the arms for which we are waiting, it seems that we can not expect anything, because Jocson's letter asks for 20,000 pesos, and the money collected here has nearly all been spent by the chiefs for the needs and incidentals of the war.

You will receive herewith the copy of the Revolutionary Manifest that we are going to publish. It is in English, too, but as it is rather long, I entrust you with its arrangement so that we can use it when we are properly organized. The cipher code used for letters to Hongkong is also annexed. This you must keep secret from "Mamerto Natividad" (Mamerto Natibidad).

The District of Batangas has organized a provincial government which it places under my orders, according to the four letters I have received. I sent 20 riflemen and 25 Balara bolomen to help them; Luciano also went there with several riflemen in order to aid in the general attack they are going to make there on 8 pueblos at the same time.

As to the report of Procopio's death, there is no truth to it, but he was in serious danger.

I also received news here that you had been killed by the carbineers because you had given a bad order; but as this came from Imus, I did not believe it and considered it one of the usual tricks of that crowd.

As to the collection of money, I believe we need not beg but the best thing to do is to try to enter the pueblos and solicit or take it from the wealthy. Brother M. Nakpil wrote me, asking whether he was to deliver the money collected by him, four hundred odd pesos, to "Mamerto Natividad" (Mamerto Natibidad); do not consent to such a thing, because that man is not loyal to us; he is very thick with the Magdalo people.

A piece of news that turns a person's stomach is that of the felony committed by the Magdalo officers who applied for pardon or went over to the Spaniards. These are Daniel Tirona, Minister of War; Jose del Rosario, Minister of Interior; Jose (?) Cailles, Lieutenant-General, and nearly all the Tansa people, even the parish priest there, all henchmen of Captain Emilio's. For this reason many people strongly suspect that they work so hard to get control of the government in order to put down the whole Revolution. Last week I ordered one of Captain Emilio's ministers bound, because he was caught as he was about to escape with two Spanish prisoners and a lady. One of these Spaniards told the truth, that they were going to make their escape. He was tried by a military commission, but the usual thing happened: mutual contemplations or favoritism. However, the record of the case against the minister mentioned, Sr. Cayetano Topacio, remained in my possession, the same as that of the Spaniard. This is one of the reasons why we desire to leave here, because our life is in danger not only from the Spanish enemy, but still more from the leaders here, the majority of whom were crooked.

We have taken away everything: the printing press, the necessary books, the big map, and the implements for the cartridges.

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There is no means by which we can deliver the spoons you sent through Dimas' brother, as they have already left for Silangan (Laguna). We have already sent for your mother, who is at Marigondon, and are still waiting for her.

Receive the affectionate embrace which I send you.

Limbon, April 24, 1897.
The Chief of the E.P.
ANDRES BONIFACIO
Maypagasa

Artemio Ricarte's protest, to which allusion is made, reads as follows:

I, Artemio Ricarte "Vibora", of age, of the pueblo of Batak, Province of Ilocos Norte, a brother of the K. K. K. of the S. of the P. and residing here at Mapagtiis or Malabon, under the jurisdiction of Sb. Magdiwang or Novelata, declare it to be the truth and will sustain to the brink of the grave:

That at six o'clock in the afternoon of yesterday, in pursuance of the letter herewith, I went to the convent of Tansa or Panwagui and there found the Honorable Don Emilio Riego de Dios, Minister of Fomento, and the Honorable Don Mariano Trias, Minister of Grace and Justice of Sb. Magdiwang, together with Srs. Santiago Rillo, Vicente Riego de Dios, and other gentlemen from the pueblos of the said jurisdiction of Magdiwang, and likewise various persons and chiefs of Sb. Magdalo; upon my arrival I noticed that a crucifix has been prepared in the center of the hall of the said convent; and the chiefs above mentioned thereupon informed me of the reason why they had requested my presence there, which was none other than that I should take the oath of office at the foot of the crucifix and in the presence of the public or of several pueblos, as Generalissimo of the Philippine Islands, in conformity with the result of the convention held on the 22nd of the current month; for this reason I again stated to all those present there my great reluctance to accept said office for the following reasons:

1st. That I appreciated my having been elected Generalissimo of the Philippine Islands, but that I recognize that there had been sharp practice or obstruction in the election, and understood that the real will of the masses had not been complied with.

2nd. That I respected said office and realized its importance and power; but that, knowing my capacity, I considered myself small and without strength, and therefore realized and recognized my incompetency, and that on account of all this, I could not conscientiously accept the office. This is what I reported at first to the gentlemen present there, from all places, whom I met at the Convent and who informed me that I must take the oath of office that evening. I also stated that if the oath of office was to be administered that same evening I could not conform to it, because:

1st. The majority of the chiefs present at the election, and especially the President of the Convention on said 22nd of the present month, were absent.

2nd. Because I knew that if this was done, it would cause much dissatisfaction and enmity between the pueblos; in short, I gave them all to understand that I strongly disapproved, to the extent, that I requested of the chiefs of the pueblos two things:

That they kill me that same night, for the reasons above cited, or that they give me three days, or at least one day, to think over what I must necessarily do in order to accept said office; this second request was but a mere pretext, in order to enable me to absent myself from that meeting. I obtained nothing of what I requested, because not even one of them stated his consent. To be brief, at the suggestion and request of all, the Honorable Don Emilio Aguinaldo, Generalissimo of Sb. Magdalo, took the oath at about eight o'clock in the evening, together with the Honorable Mariano Trias, Minister of Grace and Justice of Magdiwang, and though I again repeat, I could not conscientiously accept it. I also took the oath, as Generallissimo of the Philippine Islands, at about one o'clock that night.

This is the entire truth which I shall never be able to retract, hence, on this 24th day of March, 1897, I sign these presents with my real name and surname and the nickname I bear.

ARTEMIO RICARTE
Vibora

The letter in Spanish annexed to this document reads as follows:

"Sr. D. ARTEMIO RICARTE.

My dear friend and brother: — We all pray you to deign to respond to this invitation in honor of the republic that we are organizing here in the parochial house of this pueblo. We therefore hope that you will come immediately after this comes to your attention.

Without anything further, receive our affectionate regards.

Yours,

E. RIEGO DE DIOS."

Other documents found with the correspondence of A. Bonifacio above transcribed and throwing further light upon it are the following *minutes*:

"HERE AT TEJEROS, within the jurisdiction limits of the pueblo of the Mapagtiis, of the capital of Magdiwang, this 23rd day of March, 1897, I, the Minister of State and Acting President, Sr. Jacinto Lumbreras, Pueblo Nuevo, and the Members of the Cabinet, Generals, Marshals, Brigadiers, Colonels, Presidents, and other Chiefs of the pueblos within the jurisdictional limits of the aforesaid capital, with offices with which they are vested, competent and of lawful age, in convention assembled, and Mssrs. Andres Bonifacio, Maypagasa, *venerado Supremo;* and Mariano Alvarez, Mainam, the present President, do covenant:

First. That as regards the election of a President, Ministers, Generals, and other necessary officers, we have come to an agreement with those of the other Presidency of the capital of Magdalo; in witness whereof we have held (said election) yesterday at Tejeros, but we can not accept the result thereof because the same lacks legality, we having learned that actual pressure has been brought to bear upon our presidency; and that the ballots have been prepared by one sole person and have been issued to unqualified persons in order to secure a majority; and we have learned that they have conspired there. For this reason we deny the validity of the action taken, the unlawfulness whereof is proved by the fact that they have been unable to prepare a formal minute-record for our signatures, aside from the capital defect that our brother officers were not present there and were outside.

Second. We have discovered their underhand efforts for the purpose of putting our Presidency under their orders by boldly doing that which is prohibited; General Emilio Aguinaldo having invited our Presidents to consider things not mentioned in the printed letter, for reasons not known to us, because no notice of it has been received in our capital.

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Third. That upon the capture by the Spaniards of Silang and Dasmarinas, pueblos of their jurisdiction, many of our soldiers were slain, and in addition to our having contributed money, animals, and rice, we had many wounded and suffered other losses, while thanks to God, no pueblo of those under our jurisdiction has fallen into the hands of the said enemy.

Fourth. That we have never solicited aid from them, while they have constantly been requesting it from us.

Fifth. That our men have been fighting the enemy practically day and night in order to liberate them, aside from other most valuable services, as a reward for which they have attempted to snatch our Presidency away from us by fraud.

Sixth. That we were the first to raise the standard of the rebellion and they came after. And inasmuch as we are convinced that their actions are not those of true brethren, we have agreed to separate from them and that they shall not put our capital under their orders, happen what may, it being they, at all events, who should submit, seeing that they have caused all the trouble. We sign these presents, binding ourselves under oath to respond with our lives and property for the liberty and tranquility of our aforesaid Presidency; that we all and those who are with us and may desire to do so, will abide by the terms of this present covenant; that any misfortune that may happen to us, openly or secretly or any violent death, will be investigated by us and no effort will be spared until the guilty party is found, if there be any, and punished as he deserved; and we further covenant that if any person among us violated this compact, all will turn against him without pity; likewise, that we will make all efforts to trace the steps of those who may intend to commit treason against the Most High and Most Respectable Society, against the capital, or against our brethren, and that we will pursue them relentlessly and send them to the Presidency for punishment as soon as practicable. We conclude this compact in the name of the Most Venerable Society, all signing with our full names and our surnames in said Society; and though many, yet we are one in grace, and in life. This document shall be safely guarded in the Presidency and printed copies of it shall be sent to the pueblos thereof who are of the same opinion, and shall be safely kept by the Presidents, brethren, or other officers. Given on the day, month, and year above written.

Signed by Andres Bonifacio, Mariano Alvarez, Artemio Ricarte, Diego Moxica, and others, altogether 44 signatures.

> We who sign these presents with our true names, all officers of the Army who have met in convention headed by the Supreme Chief on account of the critical situation of the pueblos and the war, having discovered the treason committed by certain officers who have been showing discord and connived with the Spaniards, our enemies, corrupting the army and being guilty of criminal neglect in the care of the wounded, have agreed to deliver the people from this grave danger by the means hereinafter enumerated:
>
> *First.* All combatants shall, by persuasion or force, be incorporated in an army troops and placed under the command of General Pio del Pilar.
>
> *Second.* We shall recognize no one as being vested with full power except Right in the first place, and then those courageous officers who, since the beginning of the war and until the present moment, have never gone back on their oath and have conducted themselves loyally.
>
> *Third.* Any disloyal person shall be punished on the spot, according to his deserts.
>
> Such is our agreement, and swear before God and the country of our birth that we shall keep it unto the grave."

This last document is signed by Andres Bonifacio, Procopio Bonifacio, *Mariano Trias,* Pio del Pilar, Artemio Ricarte, *Severino de las Alas,* and others, altogether 41 signers. This last military convention was, unless our informant is mistaken, held at Naic after a disaster of the revolutionary army. According to Ronquillo, Aguinaldo was ill at the time. This notwithstanding, as soon as he learned what was being plotted against him, and though the members of the convention had refused admission to his partisans, among them Mascardo himself, he went to the meeting place, forced his way past sentries who endeavored to keep him out, and entered. Fortunately he met outside of the meeting place of the combine his soldiers who, death with fatigue, were stretched out on the ground resting, and who recognized and acclaimed him. This spoiled all the oaths they were taking upstairs, and Mariano Trias, Severino de las Alas, and in fact, nearly all except A. Bonifacio went over the other side. Bonifacio, upon seeing that things were beginning to look ugly for him and having enough of it, decamped and left for Jalang. All this was naturally the prelude to the cruel sacrifice which we shall relate by giving here the translation of the pertinent parts of a private detailed account by the wife of the unhappy Bonifacio to Jacinto, which reads as follows:

> "They (the Magdalo partisans) held a secret meeting and resolved to pursue him and pick a quarrel with him, and if he became offended, to kill them all or disarm them and bind him (A. Bonifacio), together with his soldiers. When the detachment came they

sent a message to our house, from afar off, to lay down our arms. We paid no attention, whereupon they came, and they approached our house, they surrounded it and their colonel then entered the house. He came up to him peacefully and asked him whither he was going, and the colonel replied that they were making a reconnaissance towards Indang, and he stopped because they had not yet had their breakfast. At the same time he inquired concerning our situation, saying that most assuredly we must be short of provisions. We replied we were not, saying that we were better off here than in Indang, as there was somebody who furnished us rice that was not of the poorest quality (*pinawa*). The Colonel replied: "What am I going to do at Indang where our brethren are maltreating me? I do not even want my eyes to behold them again. After he had said this, there was a pause and they had their breakfast. Then they asked to go, saying that it was getting late and promising that they would return with their soldiers to have dinner with us. Upon leaving, what they did was, upon arriving outside of our battery to order the same closed,

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giving instructions that no member of the family of the *Supremo* was to be allowed to pass, as otherwise their lives would be forfeited. This was the order given at the said battery which they watched with a small detachment of their soldiers. When our men who were taking rations outside of the battery arrived, the sentries refused to let them pass. The men to whom passage was thus denied reported the matter immediately, and it was only thus that we learned what was being done. Besides they disarmed all our comrades on the outside and took all the men away. For this reason my husband ran after them in order to ask them why they were acting in this manner, but he did not succeed in overtaking them and those who went after them returned and waited for them to return in order to ask them whether they had been acting under orders from their officers. While thus waiting, the night came. They seized our women and even our utensils, but one of the women kidnapped made her escape and reported to our soldiers that their women had been abducted. The soldiers wanted to leave in order to demand an explanation, but we succeeded in detaining them and they did not go beyond the battery, but waited there. When he learned what had happened to his comrades, he gave orders and sent a message requesting a conference with the officers, because, he said, it was not becoming that there should be any quarrel between them. They told the messenger that they refused to parley and that bullets would settle the matter. The messenger therefore returned and is here now and living. About dawn they fired shots, and some more shots on the other side. I then awakened him and when he went outside, he met a soldier who told him that they were in overwhelming force and were already near. When they came close, they fired rapidly, and, forming a line of skirmishers, surrounded us. He, however, ordered our soldiers not to fire, and our men shouted: Brethren, don't shoot; tell us what what you want. They paid no attention, and when we were within range, they fired a volley at my husband, and when he fell, they stabbed him and struck him with the butts of their guns. My brother-in-law Ciriaco was seized by two and shot to death. Procopio, they tied and beat with a revolver. They then placed the wounded in hammocks, and even those they had bound, and took them to the pueblo. When they saw me come out of the place where I had been hiding, the officers of the detachment ran towards me and tried to compel me to say where the money of Cavite or of the treasury was kept; they also took by force my revolver and even what little expense money we had. Then they hastened to tie me to a tree, attempting to force me, to tell them the whereabouts of the money which they said we had collected. The brothers can testify to this, also the other residents here bringing us food every month. When they did not obtain from me what they sought, they took me to the Tribunal at Indang, and there I took care of the wounded man, whom they had stripped, taking possession of the clothes he wore and putting a blanket in their place. When I approched, I was hardly able to attend to him, as they wanted to bind me and take me to Naik, but upon the supplications of others they left me alone. In the morning, however, the soldiers took us away and took us back and forth between Indang and Marigondon and Naik. Alas, my brothers; when we arrived at the pueblo, they locked us up in the barracks, and when we first arrived, they left us at the door for two hours before we were taken in, and about an hour at the foot of the stairs. They then put us in the kitchen part of the building, in the priest's bathroom, where they locked us up as in a dungeon and where it was almost impossible for me to get to him, and when I insisted, they put me in a room with the prohibition to communicate with any person. And as they said they were going to make us testify, I besought all the generals to treat us with justice, saying that if it was practicable, they should, before requiring us to testify, call the other chiefs and question us publicly in their presence. They agreed to my request, saying that this was no more than just; but it was not done, and after more than a week had elapsed, they took us to Marigondon and took our testimony only on the third day. They bought over Pedro Giron with money and couched him well in what they wished him to testify: that he (my husband) had ordered them all put to death. He agreed, because they promised him his life, and, as a fact, they made him leave immediately after he had testified. Hence, when my husband demanded to be allowed to face him, they replied that Giron had been killed at Naik. Where is he with them now? When the summary trial was over, Capitan Emilio, according to them, ordered my husband shot within twenty-four hours. They did not even allow him to make his defense or have a counsel of his choice. The time passed and he was pardoned, but four or five days later orders were given for his banishment. When the sentence was pronounced, I asked several of the chiefs whether the contents of the sentence were the truth, to which they replied that I must not pay attention to rumors, and to prove this, the judge advocate who had prosecuted the case came and told us not to worry, because nothing had happened, and then there came an order to the Spanish captain that on the third day, at eight o'clock at night, while it was raining hard, they should take my husband out of the house by force. I besought the major, Lazaro Macapagal, who took him and executed the order, not to take the sick man outside until after the rain had stopped, or the next morning. He would not do so for the reason that, as he said, it was by the order of the commanding officer; but he told me to go to Captain Emilio's house and supplicate him. I went out accompanied by two women; we almost had to go on all-fours through the dark night and amidst a heavy downpour while we were passing the river. We arrived at Emilio's place, but were unable to go upstairs immediately, as we were completely drenched. When we went upstairs, Emilio hid in his room and made them tell us that he was ill and was resting but I noticed that he was awake and talking to Jocson. When Jocson came out and approached Pedro Lipana, who claimed to be Emilio's secretary, he came to me and asked me what I wanted. I said that if it was possible, they should not take the sick man away until the next day. He said no, and I took leave in order to go back; but as I was going downstairs, he told us to wait for a letter to the sentry. The letter being written, he handed it to two soldiers, with orders to accompany us. They were to detain him in the tribunal and to confine me upon their return from the house of the Pangulo. I argued, but they told me they would shoot me; and thereafter nobody was allowed to approach me. At noon on the following day they took the two brothers out; and towards the afternoon there was a skirmish outside of the pueblo where I was, and they let me go. Upon being released, I went to the other side to look for him and I met those who had taken him away. They were carrying with them the clothes I had obtained for the sake of charity, the same as the medicine and the blanket with which I had covered my brother-in-law. When I asked them for those they had taken away, they answered that they had left them in the hills, in the house of a lieutenant. I asked why they were carrying the clothes and they told me that he had told them to have me bring those clothes. Alas, brothers! I then began to look for them at the place they had indicated and when I arrived,

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I was told they were on another hill, which was extremely high. I got there, ascended, and did not find him. We then went on again. Alas, my brothers! We went through the hills looking for him for about two weeks, resting only at night. As I did not find him and there was nobody to tell me his whereabouts, we followed the soldiers, but these, in answer to our questions, indicated all sorts of places. And we resolved to leave only when one of my uncles told me the truth, because he had given him food at the place where the firing squad had stopped before they took him away.

I am still lucky, my brothers, to be alive after all I have been through. We roamed for a whole month and nothing to eat

> but green bananas. When my companions succeeded in obtaining through charity, a handful of rice, they boiled it in water and gave it to me. The clothes I wore were so much used that it was impossible to burn them.
>
> GREGORIA DE BONIFACIO
> *Lakambini*

The most solid criticism of this unfortunate occurrence is very severe, perhaps rather hard coming from him who made it, Apolinario Mabini, who was known to be the favorite of Aguinaldo and his aulic adviser. It is, for the reason, well worthy of consideration, as Mabini must have been fully acquainted with the subject matter, because while he was in favor, he not only had chance to talk to those who were in the secret concerning the affair, and to disinterested witnesses, but also to the responsible parties themselves, to the abettors or principal actors in this national tragedy, who probably unburdened their hearts to him without reserve, in the confidence that their idol in those days, the *cabinet noir* of President Aguinaldo, was not going to throw upon them, and principally upon Aguinaldo, the whole burden of his severe criticism, which is impartial precisely on account of the circumstances referred to.

"Criticism", Mabini writes, "finds no justification nor even attenuation for this conduct (of Sr. Aguinaldo). Andres Bonifacio was not less instructed than any of those elected at the meeting mentioned and had given evidence of uncommon sagacity in organizing the Katipunan. All the electors were friends of Don Emilio Aguinaldo and Don Mariano Trias, and were united, while Bonifacio was looked upon with mistrust, though he had shown integrity of character, not only because he was of another province; thus their resentment is explained. This, however, was not manifested by any act of violent opposition, and, seeing that nobody worked for reconciliation, Bonifacio contented himself with leaving the province for San Mateo, accompanied by his brothers. When it is considered that Sr. Aguinaldo, the chief-elect, was the first one to be guilty of insubordination to the chief of the Katipunan of which he was a member; when one reflects that reconciliation was the only proper solution at that critical stage of the revolution, the motive for the assassination can not but be attributed to sentiments highly dishonorable in him; at all events, that crime constitutes the first triumph of personal ambition over true patriotism........ The tragical event dampened the ardor for the cause of the revolution and precipitated the failure of the insurrection in Cavite, because many of those from Manila, Laguna, and Batangas who were fighting throughout the province withdrew, disgusted, and soon the so-called central government had to be transferred to the mountains of Biak-na-bato, Bulacan, from where it never moved."

According to this criticism, "nobody worked for reconciliation and reconciliation was the only proper solution at that critical stage of the revolution." We say that all possible efforts were made to bring about a reconciliation, even to the mortification of Aguinaldo, the strongest in a situation where force was the principal factor, and the ill success of these efforts was solely due to unwillingness on the part of the founder of the Katipunan. Gregoria de Bonifacio, the wife of Andres Bonifacio, relates in her *Report* above transcribed that the Colonel (Agapito Bonzon) courteously invited her husband, who, however, did not accept the invitation. Antonino Guevarra, an eyewitness, who, as we have had occasion to see, was held in high esteem by A. Bonifacio, related the occurrence to Emilio Jacinto, says the following in a letter dated Laguna, May 3, 1897: "Colonel Intong, of Bacoor, came to the house accompanied by other officers, and upon being asked by Don Andres concerning the purpose of his visit, he replied as follows: We have come, sir, in order to invite you to do your part to prevent a separation between us; it is for you to choose the place where you wish to stay, whether at Naik or at Indang. Don Andres replied: Pardon me if I decline to accept your invitation; I shall never return, because I will not tolerate what they have been doing to me. In the first place, they cut down our food, and what shall I do with the orphans and widows of those who fell in action at Malabon and Noveleta? I believe if such a thing were to happen to you and you had any mettle, your patience would come to an end, too. In the second place, they say hereabouts that I should be denied.

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recognition in the Province of Cavite, because I am a worthless individual. The proper thing for me to do, is for this reason, to leave here; somebody will surely be found in the provinces of Manila, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija who will take pity on me. The sharpers then replied: If that is so, we shall go away again, because our men have not yet eaten."

When the convention of March 22 was held at Tejeros, presided over by A. Bonifacio, as Mabini says, and after the dignitaries of the Revolution had been elected, Andres Bonifacio did not protest against the election of Aguinaldo, Trias, and others, except upon the acclamation, of Daniel Tirona as Secretary of the Interior, when he proclaimed in his stead Jose del Rosario, as better fitted for the office, and then full of indignation, he protested against the whole election, rather on account of the slight he considered he had received than for any other reason, and if Tirona had not put in his oar, he might have respected the election, because he had given his word to do so. Jose del Rosario and especially Mariano Trias belonged to the Magdiwang faction, to which Bonifacio also belonged, and Trias was nothing less than Minister of Grace and Justice in Magdiwang. Considering this circumstance and the further fact that the election was held right at the fort of Magdiwang and presided over by Bonifacio, it seems evident that majority of the electors were in favor of Aguinaldo and not of Bonifacio. Even supposing that Jose del Rosario and Mariano Trias had few followers, which is not established, these together with the Aguinaldo men, gave Aguinaldo an overwhelming majority. And Andres Bonifacio had given his word, before the election, that he was going to respect the will of the majority. It is true, of course, that Ricarte protested against his own election, but it it is also true that the following evening he accepted and took the oath of office. It is alleged that certain dignitaries of the Magdiwang faction, altogether 44, including Bonifacio, prepared a written formal protest; and in another one, signed by 41 persons, it was set forth that Pio del Pilar, and not Aguinaldo, was the man of the situation; but aside from the fact that these protests were headed by Andres Bonifacio, these same protestants, in spite of their oaths, soon passed over to Aguinaldo, and showed by their conduct that they accepted the popular will made manifest at the election of March 22.

It will also be said that the sectional or local feeling entered into the game and vitiated the election. Admitting this, why did Bonifacio promise to respect the will of the majority, knowing that those present were Cavitenos? Did Bonifacio mean that he accepted only the majority of the Magdiwang votes? Surely not. Even had all Magdiwang voted for him, he would not have obtained a majority, because in view of human conditions and the critical influence of the surroundings, the Magdalo faction would always have had a majority or would have forced it; they were superior in force under circumstances where, we repeat, force was the principal factor. The truth is, however, that it was not the sectional feeling which weighed in the balance, but the well-established prestige of Aguinaldo throughout Cavite, in the Philippines, abroad, and even among the common enemy, who refused to send his emissaries, Pio Pi and Rafael Comenge to any one but Aguinaldo in order to negotiate with him concerning, not the revolution at Magdiwang, but the revolution throughout the Archipelago. It must be remembered that the Batanguenos had representatives there, Santiago Rillo and his men were present when the oath was administered and were among those who obliged Ricarte to take the oath. Clemente J. Zulueta, of Paco, Manila; the engineer Don Edilberto Evangelista, the hero of Zapote, of Manila, the unfortunate Jocson, of Manila, and, especially, Mamerto Natividad, of Nueva Ecija, the general of most prestige in Luzon, and still others who were not from Cavite, pronounced themselves in favor of Aguinaldo, took a part in the efforts to bring about a reconciliation, and, upon becoming convinced that it was impossible, advised Aguinaldo to take the action which later became a matter of national mourning, in order to prevent a greater evil, namely that Bonifacio advancing through Laguna, Rizal, Batangas, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, and other provinces in order to wage war without quarters upon them, which would have been a most unworthy attitude in the face of the enemy and would have facilitated the victory of the latter, to the injury and ruin of the most sacred national interests. That those patriots did not mistrust in vain and see danger where none existed, is proved by the letter, above referred to, of Antonino Guevarra, in which we read, among other things, the following: "The last order of the *Supremo* was to immediately publish a circular throughout the Philippine Islands declaring null and void all appointments of the chiefs of the Province of Cavite, except those of Diego

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Moxica, Santos Nocom, Artemio Ricarte, Silvestre Domingo, and a few others; that Jacinto should beware of them, as they were going to murder him." In another letter dated the 8th of the same month of May, Antonino Guevarra wrote to Emilio Jacinto that he was going to talk to Paciano Rizal and ask him for arms, and not to the Magdalo people, in order not to find himself in necessity of recognizing them as chiefs. That three pueblos of Laguna had come to an agreement to recognize only Emilio Jacinto as chief, for the reason that, so the letter went on, he was the right hand of the *Supremo,* the *King* of the People; and, finally, he advised Jacinto to lie low, because until that date, the 8th of May, his news were that Bonifacio was still unharmed and it was to be hoped that by the grace of God he would escape from the claws of the *wild beasts;* that thereupon "we shall think about what we shall do with them" *(ay saka natin isipin ang gagawin natin sa kanila)*. This same Antonino Guevarra reported that when they arrested Andres Bonifacio, he followed him as far as the pueblo (Indang), and there the common gossip accused Bonifacio of having appropriated the funds of the Katipunan, of having given orders to poison Aguinaldo, and that Mariano Alvarez (ex-president of Magdiwang) was going to testify to this fact, as they had made him Minister of Fomento, and that those who started the whole business and spoiled everything were Mariano Trias, Mascardo, and the *whole* lot of them (*at lahat na baga*). This graphic expression and the *whole lot of them* gives the thing away, as it means that not only the leaders from Cavite and other provinces contributed to the death of Andres Bonifacio, but also the unconscious mass of the people which, in a situation as critical as that, could not be expected to show serenity of judgment and prudence.

In fact, Clemente J. Zulueta, who participated in the deliberations of the court which sentenced Andres Bonifacio to be shot, and was present at his execution, has told us that the people forced Aguinaldo to have him put to death; that Aguinaldo was anxious to pardon Andres Bonifacio, but nobody advised him to do so, as the popular masses demanded their victim. "Would you believe it, they attributed our defeats to the wrath of God on account of the impiety of A. Bonifacio. His death was inevitable because of the several circumstances and, especially, for the salvation of the Revolution."

Such was the hostility among the popular masses, even beyond the limits of Cavite. An anonymous letter dated Tanay, March 29, and addressed to one Isidro San Jose, gave the following account of the tales and rumors then current throughout Cavite that Aguinaldo received samples of an order for 40,000 remodelled five-shot Remington rifles with their accessories, 40 rapid-firing guns, and 100 packages of 4 quintals the package, of English saltpeter, and sheet copper for cartridge shells. Aguinaldo had a conference with Bonifacio in order to talk the matter over with him, and both agreed upon the manner in which the goods were to be delivered in the Straits of San Bernardino; but Bonifacio, instead of cooperating with Aguinaldo in this matter, secretly informed the importing firm not to have anything to do with Aguinaldo, because while he had been lieutenant-general, "he was nobody at the time," which information prevented the landing of the arms that all were astonished at the mysterious death of Edilberto Evangelista, because in view of his situation, it was impossible for the bullets of the enemy to reach him, and Aguinaldo, who was an intimate friend Evangelista's, made a secret, but painstaking investigation of this matter, which caused the trouble between the two. It is evident that all this was gossip pure and simple and entirely unfounded; but under the critical circumstances then prevailing in Cavite these rumors were most fatal. The popular folly may cause the decapitation of kings and emperors, and, saddest of all, it may even strike the most sainted and idolized king, such as the king-father of the Balagtasan Laura, as the princess herself prudently and cleverly expresses it in the following memorable words, which every Tagalog knows by heart: "Can you perchance ask a riotous people to show reason?" (*May matoid bagang maca panglulumay sa . . . . nagugulong bayan?*).

To this we must add that no time was to be lost, because the enemy was coming fast. General Primo de Rivera in person directed the campaign against Cavite, with four brigades commanded by General Suero, Pastor, Sarralde, and Jaramillo. From the first of May, when the general advance began, with the support of the fleet, until the evening before the capture of Marigondon, the day of the execution of Bonifacio, according to our information (May 10), the enemy had taken the barrios of Alalang, Fuerte Quintana, Naik, the heroic defense of which by Aguinaldo, on the 3rd, was admired by the enemy;

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Amadeo, Indang, Mendez Nunez, and Alfonso, all that was left in order to complete the pacification of Cavite being the capture of Marigondon, where Aguinaldo was to fire the last shot, because there General Primo de Rivera had concentrated all his forces. Upon the occupation of Marigondon, Aguinaldo went to Talisay in order to join Malvar and other rebels from Batangas, Cavite, Taguig, and Pateros; from Talisay he hurried to Laguna and San Mateo, and, when the enemy least expected it, they passed through Paliparan, slipped between Alamza and Munting-Lupa, crossed the Pasig with 500 men, and anchored for a moment at Malapad na Bato; thence he "traversed the district of San Juan del Monte *within sight and hearing of Manila,* as a chronicler of the enemy said, and, by way of Montalban, proceeded to Puray, from where he marched straight to Biak-na-bato." Would such a great movement have been possible if Bonifacio had been able to get ahead of Aguinaldo, with all his tents and arms, precisely in a theatre of war where Emilio Jacinto was encamped and where the men of military prestige were Paciano Rizal and Miguel Malvar who, as is to be inferred from the correspondence of Bonifacio above transcribed, were in sympathy with the latter, especially Malvar, whom Bonifacio had helped with the pick of his troops?

Neither is it true that "the tragical event dampened the ardor for the cause of the revolution and precipitated the failure of the insurrection in Cavite, because many of those from Manila, Laguna, and Batangas who were fighting throughout the province withdrew, disgusted, and soon the so-called central government had to be transferred to the mountains of Biak-na-bato, Bulacan, from where it never moved." We know that the failure of the insurrection in Cavite was not due to the *tragical event,* but to the overwhelming force of the enemy, and that instead of being crushed, it rose again more powerful, more united; that it made a brave stand against the enemy, and, *within the sight and hearing of the enemy,* extended to the provinces of Batangas, Laguna, Rizal, and Bulacan, taking great increment and incidentally giving the enemy a lesson at Puray, on the 14th, which enemy called a *glorious rout,* and all this happened in the first half of May.

Upon its arrival in the mountain fastnesses of Biak-na-bato, the enemy confessed that the insurrection had grown, and no respite was given to the forces of Primo de Rivera, who was finally driven to asking the provinces for volunteers. As if by enchantment, the revolution grew in strength and vigor in Batangas, Laguna, Bulacan, Bataan, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, Tarlac, Pangasinan, Baler, etc. Thus it came that for the sole purpose of rescuing Aliaga, Nueva Ecija, from Generals Mamerto Natividad, Tinio, and others, who were masters of the entire town, Primo de Rivera had to mobilize a contingent of 8,000 men, and even then the casualties on the part of the enemy were heavy, General Nunez being severely wounded. The same thing as of Aliaga can be said of Camansi, Minuyan, etc. To such an extent did the revolution prosper in town and country that, if General Natividad, whom Bonifacio regarded with disfavor, had not been killed in the battle of Cabiao, Nueva Ecija, the so-called Biak-na-bato treaty would never have been concluded. Notwithstanding all, the treaty mentioned was favorable to the cause of the Revolution. *It was the greatest blow to the Spanish rule in the Archipelago of Legaspi,* and thereafter, as a chronicler of the enemy remarks, *all the prestige that Spain lost, Aguinaldo gained within and without the* territory of the Philippines. To this we will add that the revolution, which, by this treaty, had morally won over all compatriots, became a national cause, and this rendered possible the following revolution, that of 1898 and 1899, in which Mabini was the adviser of the person whom he afterward so unjustly called a criminal.

How could Mabini so quickly forget his own doctrines? Was it not upon his respectful request, with the official formula that "God preserve him for many years," that Aguinaldo ordered the printing, at the expense of the State of *Mabini's Constitutional Program of the Philippine Republic,* which was headed by the *True Decalogue,* and which, with ingenuity and candor, Mabini desired to be the *sole true and solid base* of the moral education of the Filipinos, if the latter wanted to be redeemed, and the ninth article of which contained a divine (?) precepts which, in his estimation, must precisely justify Aguinaldo?

Let us see if it does not:

> "Ninth. Love thy fellow-man as thyself, because God has imposed upon him as well as upon thee the duty of aiding thee and of not doing unto thee what he would not have thee do unto him; *but if thy fellow-man, violating this sacred duty, shall seek to take thy life, thy liberty, or that which is thine, then thou must destroy and annihilate him, because in such case the supreme law of self-preservation prevails."*

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This spiritual food, which does not even demand the prerequisites established by the Penal Code, if it means anything, ought to mean, at least to Mabini, that Aguinaldo upon confirming the decision of the military commission in the proceedings against Bonifacio, could not, in view of all ins and outs of the case, have acted as a man with criminal ambitions, inasmuch as the *liberty and interest of Aguinaldo,* of Aguinaldo, his followers, the Cavite insurrection, and consequently of the Filipinos in general, *and the law of self-preservation,* demanded it.

Until now we have made use of nothing but the correspondence and papers of Andres Bonifacio himself and of persons who enjoyed his entire confidence, and of certain historical facts described by pens of the enemy. We have purposely done without the testimony of persons still living, because such testimony, given at the present time, when the atmosphere is pregnant with treacherous tempest and there is the natural fear of its thunderbolts, or when the desire of putting one-self in the lime light at the cost of true history may come into play, might be disputable. We have no doubt that they would be sincere in whatever they would say, but not in what they would not say, which is the principal thing. Nevertheless, let us add a few more explanatory facts furnished by Clemente J. Zulueta, Teodoro Gonzalez, Cipriano Pacheco, and others.

When Andres Bonifacio *was invited by a few friends,* as Mabini says, there existed in Cavite two well-defined factions, that of Magdiwang and that of Magdalo; *but Magdalo already paid but little attention to his authority (Bonifacio's) and orders.* Bonifacio therefore embraced the cause of Magdiwang. However, there was also a numerous group of neutrals from Manila, Central Luzon, and Batangas, whose most fervent desire was the fusion of the two parties. These latter prevailing, a convention was held at Imus, attended by delegates from both factions and by neutrals, among them Edilberto Evangelista, Teodoro Gonzalez, and Daniel Tirona were instructed to draw-up. In accordance with the provisions of this constitution, the election above referred to was held at Tejeros, in the heart of Magdiwang, on March 22, 1897. At this election Aguinaldo was not even present, as he was fighting the enemy at the time. The majority was, in the first place, with the Manila element, and in the second with Magdiwang party; Magdalo was poorly represented, there being perhaps, only Daniel Tirona and a few others. The secretary of this election was Andres Bonifacio's own secretary, Teodoro Gonzalez. Precisely on account of these circumstances, which were as favorable for a Magdiwang as a Magdalo president, the Magdiwang party returned 1 Vice-President, 1 General-in-Chief, 1 Director of War, and 1 Secretary of Interior, and the delegates from Central Luzon and Batangas decided, over the protest of Bonifacio and certain Magdiwang men, to have the election respected and make the officers elect qualify. The bold attitude of the Batangueños was certainly praiseworthy: seeing that discord was taking possession of some minds they severed the Gordian knot at one blow." "Everybody knows—they said—our loyalty to the founder of the Katipunan and Magdiwang; but if, against all reason, the result of an election so thoroughly agreed upon between all is to be invalidated, we, the Batangueños, will impose it by force, and we will do it alone if the sons of Cavite will not respect it." As it often happens in life, successful temerity proved to be great prudence, and the resolute attitude of the Batangueños, supported with no less determination by the delegates from Central Luzon, made the rebels come to reason and gave rise to the scene of the oath, and all the officers elect took the oath of office, not excepting Artemio Ricarte, the most stubborn. Upon the fusion, no rebels were left but the founder of the Katipunan and his two brothers, and the factions disappeared and were replaced by the Revolutionary Government. It was then that a last effort was made to attract Bonifacio; and when it failed on account of the latter's unwillingness, he was ordered arrested. Bonifacio resisted, Mabini says, and we add that his resistance was well prepared, brave, and heroic. Andres Bonifacio—A. Guevarra writes—called two of his colonels in order to send them after Colonel Agapito Bonzon for the purpose of challenging him; but the colonel mentioned pretended they were afraid of treachery, and we therefore did nothing all night except to watch the trenches. At about 5 o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, the 28th (of April), Don Andres got up from bed and ran to the trench that was being watched, and soon we heard in distance six rifle shots, which were answered with three by Ciriaco. Don Andres then entered our house and asked for something to eat, saying that

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he was hungry. The table had not yet been set when a large number of rascally riflemen came, besieged us, etc., etc.

The founder of the Katipunan was arraigned before military commission. Pedro Lipana was judge advocate and Santos Nocom, the man in whom the accused had reposed special confidence, was the prosecutor. The charges were that Andres Bonifacio was attempting to raise to counter-revolution and had offered armed resistance to the Revolutionary Government. The witnesses who testified were Colonel Agapito Bonzon and Pedro Giron, also a person who enjoyed the confidence of the accused. The military commission was a heterogenous jury; one of its members, as we have already stated, was the unhappy investigator Clemente J. Zulueta, the bearer of the letter of Pio Pi and Rafael Comenge, and its president was General Noriel. We do not know who was Andres Bonifacio's counsel; Procopio's counsel was Teodoro Gonzalez, Bonifacio's late secretary. The jury sentenced both brothers to be exiled to Look, Batangas; but the pressure of the enemy, who was then sweeping Cavite with a broom of lead and steel; the pressure of those outside, among them Zulueta and Jocson, and more than all, the general terrible panic, resulted in the execution of both brothers, on Mount Buntis, on May 10th, 1897, the eve of the fall of Marigondon. Upon the capture of this last stronghold of the Revolution, those of Manila, Central Luzon, and Batangas, returned to their respective provinces, and Aguinaldo, leaving a large part of his forces in Cavite, marched with a handful of men to Talisay, where he found the veteran troops of Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto, who acclaimed him. From Talisay, he wended his way through defiles and gulches in Laguna and Rizal and crossed the Pasig with 40 men, commanded by Noriel and Pawa, and not with

500 men, as reported by the enemy. Then, by forced marches, he reached Puray and participated in the action of June 14. Before his arrival, a memorable assembly was held at Puray, in Licerio Geronimo's camp, at which the Departmental Government of Luzon was created, as a dependency of the Revolutionary Government. At that assembly the following officers were elected: P. Pedro Dandan (Cavite), President; Dr. Anastacio Francisco (Manila), Vice-President; Paciano Rizal (Laguna), Secretary of Finance; Cipriano Pacheco (Rizal), Secretary of War; Teodoro Gonzalez (Rizal), Secretary of the Interior, and Feliciano Jocson (Manila), Secretary of Fomento. For the higher military commands, the following were elected: Mamerto Natividad (Nueva Ecija), Lieutenant-General; Sinforoso de la Cruz (Bulacan), Division-General; Melecio Carlos (Bulacan), Division-General; Licerio Geronimo (Rizal), Division-General; Hermogenes Bautista (Rizal), Division-General; Andres Pacheco (Bulacan), Brigadier-General; Tiburcio de Leon (Bulacan), Brigadier-General; Simon Tekson (Bulacan), Brigadier-General; Narciso Prociuncula (Bulacan), Brigadier-General; Isidro Torres (Bulacan), Brigadier-General; Tomas Cabling (Nueva Ecija), Brigadier-General; Salvador Natividad (Nueva Ecija), Brigadier-General; Francisco Makabulos (Tarlac), Brigadier-General, etc., etc. This Departmental Government included Manila, with the pueblos now forming the provinces of Rizal, Bulacan, Laguna, Nueva Ecija, Bataan, Tarlac, and Pangasinan, and the seat of its executive government was the barrio of Bagbag, Caloocan, Rizal. All these not only recognized Aguinaldo, but would have waged war without quarter against the founder of the Katipunan in case the latter had moved towards Central Luzon, and the founder of the Katipunan would have made bitter war upon them.

Jose Zulueta told us that, if the great Evangelista had lived, he would have been president of the Revolutionary Government, because not only was he the idol of the Magdalo people and of the revolutionaries of other provinces, but Aguinaldo himself, who was his intimate friend, desired this with insistence, being satisfied himself with the rank of Lieutenant-General. Mabini himself is not sparing in his praise for the hero of Zapote and goes so far as to attribute to him alone the happy and heroic defense of Cavite.

Frankly, even not throwing into the balance the sum of the sacrifices of the many nameless heroes of Cavite, Batangas, and Central Luzon, the names of Edilberto Evangelista, of General Flaviano Yengco who succeeded him in the command and became the hero of Dasmariñas, and of Mamerto Natividad, the hero of

Cabiao, Nueva Ecija, are sufficient to keep us, who have not yet done anything, great or small from pronouncing any temerary judgment against the man whom they recognized and elected as the leader of a Revolution for which they sacrificed comfort and well-being and which they sanctified with their blood, an opinion which, on the other hand, was

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subsequently confirmed by both natives foreigners, principally the Spaniards, Japanese, and Americans.

Having already taken our precautions, we must say that we accept, without reserve, all the praise which Mabini tributes to the Great Plebeian. We have certainly been compelled to oppose his bitter and hard censure, but not with the intention of accusing. His error, while to be deplored, is not one of those dishonorable in a man. Mabini has always followed the dictates of a pure passion for the truth, for the straight truth, which is not always the truth of life, full of curves, turns, and entanglements. His favorable judgment of Don Andres Bonifacio is one of those which proclaim the most eloquently the austerity of his character, rigid by nature, but this time amiable and sympathetic, because it exhales a certain aroma of a personal gratitude, and his attitude is at the same time, one of true justice and courageous vindication for the father of Filipino Democracy; it was partly due to Bonifacio that Mabini was made secretary of the Supreme Council of the Liga. The *unusual activity,* the *upright character,* the *civil valor,* so worthy of emulation, which *fears nothing but History,* and the uncommon sagacity of the founder of the Katipunan: All these are expressions of Mabini's for which critical history will be grateful to the Sublime Paralytic.

Certainly, all charges made against the founder of the Katipunan were unfounded. The popular rumor in Cavite that the death of Edilberto Evangelista was due to his treachery is not based on truth. It is true that the Manila people sent an anonymous letter in this sense to Aguinaldo, but a Manila committee consisting of Teodoro Gonzalez, Anastacio Francisco, and Agaton Cecilio, investigated the matter and found that the shot which killed Evangelista came from the enemy.

The cruelty and ferocity attributed to him and the charge that he was a boxer, a race fiend who ordered the massacre of the whites, are falsehoods published by Spanish writers and newspapermen of that epoch and subsequently mis-used by others, with harmful results. It originated in a Masonic document used in the *cause celebre* instituted by Colonel Olive. Now, it is an established fact, known publicly, that the Katipunan was, we might say, precisely the cordial enemy of Masonry. An investigation has shown that the document referre dto was not even the work of the masons who, in spite of the Katipunan, and even after the Biak-na-bato treaty, continued, according to Mabini, being assimilists, with the program of the Liga. It was an anonymous letter written by the persons interested in representing the Masons as abettors of the Revolution. Another example of the underhand work of that class!

In the *cause celebre* a document was adduced as evidence, purporting to have been drawn up by the South Katipunan, in which nothing less is alleged than that the virtous septuagenarian priest Agustin Tantoco was a boxer and advocated a certain *crafty policy,* the object of which was to deceive the Spaniards in order to exterminate them a la Fierabras while they were thus lulled in confidence. This document is likewise the work of the persons who, by their intrigues, succeeded in having the honorable residents of Malolos deported. Notwithstanding the abundance of means and instruments made use of, they were not successful in identifying the document referred to and ended by leaving the aged priest alone, thanks to the good officers, to the scandal of the brethren of the robe, of Friar Felipe Lezcano, whose coadjutor he was at Calumpit. And the cause of it all was that he was the uncle and most prominent member of the family of the fair girls of Malolos who presented to the Governor-General that famous petition asking for the establishment at Malolos of a night school for the teaching of Spanish, which incident inspired Rizal's not less famous letter *Sa mga kababayang dalaga sa Malolos* (To my country-women, the girls of Malolos), which caused a greater stir among the might of our colonizers.

And if Andres Bonifacio had been cruel and ferocious as charged, he could have punished V. Fernandez, the spy, and Nicolas de Lara, the embezzler of the money of the Katipunan, to his heart's content, yet he behaved towards them in the most correct and just manner, leaving the case of the former to the discretion of Emilio Jacinto, and making the proper investigation of the case of the latter, in connection with which he first requested of Emilio Jacinto "information from those who knew what had happened with the money." As regards the funds of the Katipunan and the Revolution, the correspondence transcribed is very explicit: he did not take a penny of it for his own use; besides, he had his own treasurer.

What happened was the customary thing: that appearances deceive and will continue to deceive principally those who are living of them. Bonifacio's existence was one of constant struggle in every instant of

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his busy life, surrounded by obstacles which any person but he would have found impossible to overcome. While earning his daily bread by modest and despised occupation, he had to combat his own ignorance and instruct and educate himself, and to found, educate, and instruct at the same time the puritanical society that was his work, defend himself and defend it against a regime that had all corrupting and stifling influences at its disposal, and, finally, without any means of his own, defeat the enemy with his own arms, not in a battle fought at random, but in thousands of battles in which the probalities of being annihilated forever amounted to at least 99%. This mode of living was sure to strengthen his natural intolerance, added to which there were the effects of a very poor education and a most agitated life, with its cohorts of injustices and despair, the whole of which necessarily overwhelmed his character, making him restless and misanthropical and depriving him of what good humor which is the hygiene of the mind. He, therefore, lacked that tact and self-control which can only be acquired in a propitiate, favorable atmosphere. Thus, he seemed cruel, impious, and even mad in his words and gestures to those who, having a certain veneer of social culture, are won't to display it with vanity and histrionic ostentation. All was, however, but the bitter rind of a fruit the meat of which was luscious and delicate, because at bottom, he was religious, a true believer, and possessed of the best sentiments and national aptitudes; he was capable of veneration, admiration, and sacrifice. None loved so deeply the forerunners of the Revolution and Dr. Rizal as he did; the friendship, the sacred friendship that united him with the brain of the Katipunan, Emilio Jacinto, was so deep and sincere that at the route of Pasong-Tamo he worried more over the safety of his friend than over his own; the modesty which he displayed when he withdrew the commandments drafted by him and replaced them with those of Emilio Jacinto which he pronounced better than his own; his love of music and poetry, especially of the latter, which he cultivated with ability, as the reader may see by the splendid examples *Ang Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Bayan* and *Pahimakas,* the latter a Tagalog version of Rizal's *Ultimo Adios,* a version, however, which, though irregular and not well enunciated, has the advantage of matutinal freshness over the original, and represents the first dawn of the Tagalog tongue in its new literary field.

His alleged intolerance was his downfall to be sure; but that tolerance was then most necessary. How could he compromise, seeing that he was a believer, that he believe in vindicating virtue of the association he had founded, that his mission was that of defending and propagating it and leading it to victory? Was not a compromise equivalent to his declaring himself vanquished in the contest, to a renunciation of what to him was fundamental and sacred, Bonifacio's intolerance, therefore, far from being a vice, was the virtue he needed the most in order to defeat enemies still more intolerant than he was, and to bequeath to us the precious legacy of his victory.

That Bonifacio "was not less educated than those who were elected in Cavite" is an affirmation of Mabini's which is not only true, but is our belief that none other of that epoch or the preceding one had the intuition, the exact vision of the future that Bonifacio had. Our Adriatico, reading the article *The Duty of the Filipinos,* remarked that there was nothing in that article that could not be found in the whole of the works of Marcelo H. del Pilar and Dr. Rizal; but what these achieved by a whole series of articles, pamphlets, and even books, Bonifacio did by one articles certainly over-long, in which the historico-political condensation was genial and to which he added that eloquence the power of which he succeeded in unfolding, an eloquence unique, as he says in Tagalog, which it would be useless to look for in the work of the forerunners of the Revolution.

The admirable feature of the ten *commandments* and the feature in which they differ from the Rights of Man and other similar proclamations, is that they preach nothing but the *duties* of the popular masses; nothing to make them arrogant and incite than to demand imaginary rights; the rights must be merited and earned through work. The 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th articles are most remarkable, especially the 4th and 9th, which seem to have been written for the present times. Labor and industry in earning one's bread through one's own individual effort was a new doctrine in those days, and is still new at present, considering the scope which Bonifacio and the Revolutionary Code of the Katipunan gave to the word labor. They consider labor not as a *punishment,* but as a gift to humanity, "Because it awakens and gives vigor to intellect, will, and body, which is indispensable for progress in life . . . He who toils, keeps

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away from a life of disorderly and bad habits and ennui, finds diversion in labor and becomes, strong, prosperous, and cheerful . . . " "Contemplating the so-called rich, great, and alleged wise men," say Both Bonifacio and Jacinto, "we can see through their outward prosperity, social splendor, and happiness, and perceive wearisomeness, weakness, haughtiness, coupled with vicious habits which are the source of the countless ailments that little by little destroy them" . . . How much truth is there in what our Baltazar has sung in his verses "Those who grow up midst the revelries of wealth, are devoid of judgment and kindness and lacking in counsel."

"Ang laki sa layaw karaniwa'y hubad
sa bait at muni'y sa hatol ay salat."

Having thus enthroned individual labor, Bonifacio and Jacinto regulated and systematized it by means of the *Samahan ng Bayan sa Pangangalakal* (Mercantile Association of the People); and, realizing that moral and social principles will not bear fruit so long as they have not the support of pure customs, they hastened to reform and purify these, not by the indiscreet method of cheap importation, but by restoring some of the ancient customs and eliminating the dishonoring substitutes that had taken their place. Thus they devised an alphabet for the association in remembrance of the ancient Tagalog alphabet; they established the oath of peace, that is, the so-called *Pact of Blood,* no longer for the purpose of covenanting with the dominator, but to establish a compact between the brethren of the society, in order to rise as one man and cast the dominator out of the Islands, and, especially, they purified the home and made practical vows of that which was then impossible: Chastity, purity of thought, of heart, and of body, the least violation of which was punished severely. So depraved were the men of the epoch that they may be said to have observed and practised but one doctrine: "The female was created for the satisfaction of the male."

In this respect, the Katipuneros put into practice what we read in the *Viaje del Mundo* of Pedro Ordoñes de Cevallos with regard to our mother, which is as follows:

"The women are most extremely chaste and among them there is never seen any kind of lasciviousness or infidelity to their lords; nay, it is very ordinary for them to remain virgins, and for those who are married to know no spouse but one, and with-all God multiplies them greatly through his divine secrets; and in pueblos of fifteen hundred residents there may be over two thousand boys and girls and among them not one who is not legitimate, and it is astonishing and fearful to them that among the Spaniards, who are Christians since of old, there should be such."

To be sure, the Spanish erotic literature has had a most pernicious influence upon the native literature. The popular literature of *corridos and awits* is erotic, incongruously chivalric, and extremely roguish, it having descended from as high an ancestor as the famous Deceiver of Seville, Don Juan Teñoso, degenerated in his Filipino progency in the Don Juan Teñoso and others of the kind.

Not even the popular religious literature redeems the profane from its evil effects. The poetical legend of Magdalen the sinner appeals more to the imagination of the youthful Tagala than the other, not less poetical, but edifying legend of Magdalen the repentant.

Even the popular *Florante,* by the Tagalog bard, Baltazar, which is certainly a model of poetry, and the principal purpose of which is to disseminate good teachings for the youth and the citizens, has not succeeded in escaping the pernicious influence of morbid eroticism. There we see a father and a son animated by a truly Corsican hatred, which drives the father into ordering his son put to death because he has dared to fall desperately in love with the damsel that has won the heart of the father, who in all other respects is a virtuous man. It is true that everything sacred, upon reason and kindness, and makes life contemptible: all that remains, all that is learned by heart and cited with delectation, as attenuation, if not justification, of the criminal act to which it gave rise.

Such is the tyranny of the class of literature mentioned that its evil influence can be seen in the popular expressions, which inspire the customs of the people. The arrogant blasphemy of Tenorio, for instance, is reflected in the following popular sayings which are not less blasphemous: *Ang lalake, kahit sa puno ng cruz ay umiihi* (the man urinates even at the cross), and *si cristo man at may*... (even Christ's image if it had...); and the weakness of Tenorio's victims, who resign themselves to misfortunes, appears in this stoical saying of the Tagala: *Kung saan nadapa, doon magbabangon* (where woman fell, there she

must rise). And she, in her excessive virtue or misunderstood modesty, considers even the simple *kiss* as a fall.

But there is something still more remarkable than all this; the absolute faith of Bonifacio in democracy and in the triumph of its principles. Bonifacio is the only one who believe in the virtue of democracy, in spite of all his compatriots, not excepting the *forerunners,* Marcelo H. del Pilar and Dr. Rizal. When the Katipuneros received Dr. Rizal's message that the Revolution was ill-timed and lacked preparation because the cultured elements and plutocracy did not support it, and that without arms, ships, and the support referred to, failure was sure to ensue, panic took possession of the Katipuneros and a stampede was imminent; but Bonifacio said; "Thunder wherever did Dr. Rizal read that for a revolution you must first have arms and ships? Where did he read it?" This, so the Katipuneros of that time, among them Zulueta himself, inform us, Bonifacio said and repeated with conviction, emphasis, and assurance that he dominated the irresolute and made them to return to the fold. What came after, and his success are a matter of public knowledge. "Nobody could have done what Bonifacio did for the vindication of the race," said Zulueta; we needed a character like him for certain things had to be done, even after the triumph of the Revolution was assured; but he was an impossible man. Fortunately his work was accomplished when he did; all that was necessary was to preserve and extend it; but for this Bonifacio had no qualifications; he was not even capable of commanding a regiment was not, to be brief, a General Yengco, an Evangelista, an Aguinaldo, a Natividad."

What, then, was the cause for which a society as exemplary and puritanical as the Katipunan so decayed that its name was afterwards almost a synonym for brigandage? Its fate was the sad fate of parties who, in order to triumph, have found it necessary to resort to violence, which you always know how it begins, but never when and how it will end. After the Katipunan had become a success, there came an influx of spurious elements, of false Katipuneros, whose excesses brought discredit upon the society. Men like beasts, who adore the master so long as he is strong and dispenses favors, but who act like mangy curs when he is in misfortune, who are the first to pass over to the new master, often betraying the old, stabbing him on the back, and heaping infamy upon infamy on him, believing that by such villainies they prove their loyalty to the new master and obtain his good will and favor. This is what happened to the Great Plebeian, the founder of the Katipunan and father of Philippine democracy from his arrest to his death, and makes every honest conscience shudder.

A wise man has said that man is a butcher by nature and constitution, and nature and constitution never allow this first condition to be effaced. He has canines like the dog and the fox, and like the dog and the fox, he has been fleshing them in the bodies of others ever since the beginning. His forebears slew each other with flint knives for the sake of a piece of raw fish. He has not undergone a transfer; he has merely become gentler, and the wars and society convulsions are certainly best suited to remove this thin sugar-coating to open wide the sluice-gates of all passions, noble and ignoble, which, thus fatally conjured up, result in the brutal amputation from society of a guide, torch-bearer or leader of humanity, until it is never known who were the guilty parties, or investigators, because both the pure heart and the wicked have had a hand in it. The most charitable and humane is therefore, entitled to filial pardon, seeing that these errors would, after all, have been our own had we been placed in their position, though our *amour propre* might wish to disown them and our hypocrisy be anxious to conceal them.

Anxious, to conclude, permit us to state that the sweetest of our poets, Fernando Ma. Guerrero, was right when he said that the lays of "Andres Bonifacio are *the Laurel of the proletarian and the glorious annunciation of a new dawn.*"

"New, for it was forged by the stroke of his iron:
New, for the right of the souls it ended;
New, for from its prison the fatherland issued
To wave in the air the palm of triumph."

In view of such deeds and virtues, nothing is more natural than the salute of the poet to the hero: *Thou wast the whole people.* And, echoing the voices of the public conscience and the verdict of the people, he brings his song to a magnificent close thus; *and thine already is all the people.*

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*ANDRES BONIFACIO, THE GREAT PLEBEIAN**

By Manuel L. Quezon

Fellow Countrymen:

In designating my wife to lay the cornerstone of the monument which is to be erected in memory of the Father of the Katipunan and in requesting me to address you on this solemn occasion, you have conferred upon us a signal honor for which we are profoundly grateful.

When Rizal consecrated his doctrines with his precious blood, he was at once venerated by all. But unlike Rizal, Bonifacio was not immediately hailed as a national hero by the intellectual and well-to-do classes of our society. The masses, possessing that unerring Judgment by which they appraise true patriots, were the first ones who elevated Bonifacio to the pedestal of a hero of our people. The observance which we hold today is a solemn declaration by the entire country that Andres Bonifacio is deserving of the undying gratitude of his people, and that the memory of his life and deeds would keep the flame of inspiration ever burning in the hearts of generations yet unborn.

On the very day the Governor General signed the bill that was unanimously passed by the Legislature appropriating funds which, together with the amount raised by popular subscription, will meet the expense for the erection of a fitting monument to Bonifacio. On this day, the Honorable Dwight F. Davis, the representative in these Islands of America, the sovereign nation, joins us in paying this tribute of love and admiration to the Great Plebeian.

Through their writings Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar and other patriotic toilers of their time infused into the Filipino way of life a deep sense of nationhood, and made our people realize that they were shorn of their rights and were being trodden under the iron heel of oppression. Bonifacio, Emilio Jacinto and a handful of brave men launched our people into the battlefield for the vindication of their rights and to free them from the yoke of tyranny.

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* From *1940 Bonifacio Day Souvenir Program,* pp. 16-19. Speech delivered by the then Senate President M. L. Quezon at Balintawak, November 30, 1929).

It can be truly said, therefore, that Rizal was the creator of Filipino nationality, and Bonifacio the redeemer of our country's liberties.

To appreciate Andres Bonifacio's love of liberty for this country, to understand his faith in the justice of his people's cause and his concept of the value of human dignity as being far above life itself, it is necessary for us to deliberate upon them magnitude of his task. His mission was to emancipate a people who had lived for centuries under foreign rule—a people unorganized, unarmed, and with but a nascent national spirit—from a government then considered by a majority of the Filipinos as so very powerful that it could command every instrumentality to suppress any uprising of the people under subjection. And Andres Bonifacio was undoubtedly one of those extraordinary men who are born to carry out "enterprises of great pith and moment" that would demolish unjust empires and deliberate subject peoples. Imagine Bonifacio as a man born of poor and humble parents, reared in privation, always toiling hard in order to earn a living for himself and his family, and later conceiving the idea of challenging the power and might of a whole government and carrying out his plan with undaunted boldness, and you have before you the life and deeds of the Great Plebeian.

Let it be known, however, that he did not immediately think of revolution. A man with a high sense of responsibility, leading an austere life, modest to the point of humility, exhibiting a great love for God and his fellowmen,—as can be rapidly seen when we read his decalogue—he was a man of peace and he could not have failed to be horrified at the tragic consequences of a resort to arms.

But Bonifacio had read the history of the French Revolution. He understood and professed the new doctrine embodying the right of the people to appeal to force as a last resort in order to destroy governments which do not fulfill the objects for which they have been instituted. Therefore, when he saw that the peaceful means used by the *La Solidaridad,* by Marcelo H. del Pilar, Rizal and the *Liga Filipina,* of which he was a very active member, were not only fruitless but harmful because they increased and aggravated the outrages and injustices committed by the rulers, he decided with firm resolve to organize and lead the Revolution. He founded the Katipunan, the first organization that really worked for the liberation of the country.

Nothing depicts and portrays the character of Andres Bonifacio, the man and the patriot, so well as his decalogue wherein he summarized what he considered to be "the duties of the sons of the country."

The decalogue reads as follows:

1. Love God full-heartedly.
2. Bear always in mind that true love of God is love of country, love which is also true love of man.
3. Bear always in mind that the true measure of honor and of charity is to die in defense of your country.
4. Serenity, constancy, reason, and faith in whatever act or endeavor, crown with success every desire.
5. Guard, as you would your honor, the mandates and aims of the K. K. K.
6. It is incumbent on all that he who runs a serious risk in complying with his duties should be protected at the sacrifice of life and riches.
7. Let the achievement of each, either in self-control or in compliance with duty, be an example to his fellowmnan.
8. Help to the limit of your endurance, share with your wealth with the needy or unfortunate.
9. Diligence in yoru daily work to earn a living is the true expression of love and affection for yourself, for your wife, for your brother, and for your countryman.
10. Believe in the chastisement of the perverse and the treacherous and in the reward of all good work. Believe also that the aims of the K. K. K. are the gifts of God; for the hopes of the country are also the hopes of God.

Emilio Jacinto and later Apolinario Mabini, also wrote their own decalogues. In modesty Bonifacio preferred Jacinto's decalogue to his own, and adopted it for the use of the Katipunan. But even without making any comparison among these three documents, it cannot be denied that the decalogue of Bonifacio would be sufficient, if observed by every Filipino as the Great Plebeian had, to make our country the most exemplary nation in the world.

Andres Bonifacio was not a demagogue. Having dedicated his life to the cause of liberty and being resolved to die in the vindication of the rights of his people, he spoke to them by their own duties rather than of their rights. He knew that for the enjoyment of true liberty the citizens should first know and observe their duties toward God, toward the country and toward their fellowmen. The spirit of abnegation and sacrifice which underlies his teachings should challenge our attention. His purpose was to incalcate among his countrymen the sense of duty and the practice of civic virtues even at the risk of one's life.

Coming from the masses and earning his living by the sweet of his brow, he proclaimed in his decalogue the dignity of labor in the face of a society which at that time considered it as degrading.

To my mind if Bonifacio had done nothing else but to bequeath to the Filipino people the doctrines of his decalogue and the example of a life consecrated to these doctrines, that would have been still sufficient to make him worthy of our perpetual veneration. Taken together, the lives of national heroes constitute a whole gospel to a people. We may say, therefore, that Bonifacio's life supplements that of Rizal. The teachings of both are necessary for a thorough grasp and comprehension of the doctrine of patriotism, that solid patriotism which includes both the thought and the deed. If we seek inspiration for art, for poetry and for science; if we need to be steeped in the essense of the purest nationalism,—the nationalism of rigid and austered principles—, if we wish to pay homage to the history of our country in order to reconstruct and enrich it, and to learn to improve our customs and institutions through the processes of progress, of morality and of culture; in short, if we wish to find the way to light and redemption through the arts of civilization, then Rizal is the guide, the apostle, the hero without peer. If we want to put forth our own efforts and invoke our own dignity, because we find that the doors of opportunity and improvement are closed to us; if, seeing around us nothing but injustice and oppression, we want to work out our own salvation by concerted and united action; if we see that the law is not obeyed, that right is trampled upon and the fundamental principles of liberty, equality and fraternity have ceased to impel human action, then the apostle, the guide, the fitting hero is Andres Bonifacio.

In honoring the memory of the Great Plebeian, we also honor the Philippine Revolution. Bonifacio was the embodiment of that Revolution. His was the great mind which conceived it; his, the iron will which was determined to carry it through; his, the forceful arm which executed it. It is for this reason that the monument which is to be raised here and whose cornerstone we are laying today will perpetuate not only the memory of Andres Bonifacio. It will also perpetuate the memory of our Revolution which is the most sublime adventure ever embarked upon by the Filipino people, the most glorious achievement of a whole race which marked it as virile, heroic, and worthy of the blessings of liberty.

THE LEGACY OF BONIFACIO TO OUR AGE *

By Antonio J. Villegas
Mayor of Manila

The centenary of Andres Bonifacio has brought together two old friends: the University of the Philippines and the City of Manila. Though our physical estrangement may be permanent, though Diliman has become your preferred name to Padre Faura, we have become united in another way. This is our common resolve that our people may no longer be estranged from their past, from their history and from themselves.

The UP and the City of Manila have become partners once more in the task of rediscovery—of finding ourselves again as a people.

Both of us have sought to look back, tracing our deepest roots, to increase our self-knowledge and therefore our self-confidence in meeting the complex challenges of the present and of the future.

The result of these efforts is a moral leavening and a humanizing: so that the City of Manila is just no longer an entrepot of trade, but the birthplace of Andres Bonifacio—the cradle of the first nationalist revolution in Asia. And the University of the Philippines has become a center of learning with a mission to forge from today's chaos "the uncreated conscience of the race."

It seems to me that we have together seen the need to look for the content behind the form; to look inward before looking outward.

For the danger of our times springs not so much in looking into the future as in losing our past and, therefore, our sense of history. In our rush to build the future we forget its fundamental basis, namely, the realities of the past without which the future can at best be an illusion devoutly to be wished, but impossible of attainment. We are apt to forget, in our preoccupation with material comforts, the validity of our past that has given us a glory that has not been dimmed by the might of invaders, nor diminished by partisan strifes.

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* Speech delivered at the Bonifacio convocation, University of the Philippines, November 27, 1963.

The glory of our past is hallowed not only because it was created out of the painful struggles of our heroes and the bitter sacrifices of our people, but because of the remembrance, the memory, it brings to those of us who realize that the present in which we live and have our being is the mere projection of the past. And this remembrance of our past is all that is needed to guide us in establishing the security of our future. To speak of our future, then, is to speak of our past.

This past I have been speaking of revolves around the personalities of our national heroes—those men who, in the midst of life, gave all they had in them to give but received less than they deserved. It is they, and those unknown men and women who lived fully for the country, who sketched the pattern of life that we now follow. What we are today we owe almost exclusively to them.

One of these national heroes as Andres Bonifacio. I have always felt that the Philippines owes him our most glorious epoch, the Revolution. I do not deny the nationalism and patriotism of Rizal, Del Pilar, Lopez Jaena, and others who made their lives a holy offering for the redemption of the country, but it seems to me that in our impatience or over-enthusiasm, we have overlooked the fact that it was Andres Bonifacio, and no other, who saw the necessity of achieving independence and freedom through force.

Force is something fearful and dangerous, for it is a double-edged weapon that hacks through friend and foe alike. Yet in the context of all Philippine society toward the end of the nineteenth century, when the concepts of freedom, the dignity of the individual, and the sanctity of home and family were myths, Bonifacio correctly divined that only the use of force could cut the shackles and make the Filipinos not serfs, but freemen capable of charting their way through a better and freer life.

I do not deny, too, the role played by the intelligentsia in the reform movement. They were reformists. They advocated freedom or, more accurately, the basic freedoms such as those which the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt made famous before the war in the Pacific broke out in 1941. But if I may say so, the Filipino reformists were naive and refused to believe that the colonizing country was too preoccupied with her own domestic problems to listen to their frantic cries for reforms in the administration of the Philippines. They wanted freedom, yes, but not independence, in the belief that the Filipinos would be better off as Spanish citizens than as an independent people. I do not mean to say that in thinking thus they were traitors to the country. It is simply that they did not have enough imagination and realism to see with their mind's eye that *what they were asking for was an impossibility within the Spanish framework;* that for Spain to give freedom to the Filipinos meant a corresponding loss of Spanish bureaucratic privileges; and that the Spanish colonials would be deprived of a rich hunting-ground for personal aggrandizement.

It is, I think, against this frame of reference that Andres Bonifacio's greatness should be set. A man without a high formal education but who educated himself informally, Bonifacio was nevertheless possessed of an insight so sharp as to penetrate the depths of Spanish intentions and responses to the Filipino Reformists' pleas for freedom and decency. Where the reformists saw Spanish indifference, Bonifacio saw insensitiveness; where the reformists saw a ray of hope penetrating a small crack in the wall of Spanish maladministration, Bonifacio saw doubtless futility; where the reformists saw patient in the attitude of the masses, Bonifacio saw quiet hostility. It was this quiet hostility that he divined and accurately prognosticated could become a prelude to revolution if given the proper orientation and direction.

Andres Bonifacio provided this orientation and direction. Clandestinely, he fed the people's hostility with a diet of explosive materials and emotional appeals not to suffer further humiliations, but to close ranks, to think as Filipinos, and to feel as one. There was something bewitching in the way Bonifacio made his appeals, for the people, heretofore lethargic and indifferent, thereafter became aggressive and restive. It was as if an avenging angel had come down to lead them through a bloody field to the green pasture of a promised land.

Bonifacio's prose style was simple and devoid of ornaments of rhetoric that characterized the writings of those who had been to school. It was a style that completely fitted his personality—plain but clear, rugged but effective. And so it was that Bonifacio, who had never been formally and personally acquainted with the leading intelligentsia, succeeded in tying together the loose strands of the people's faith and thus prepared them for the ultimate sacrifice that was the Revolution of 1896.

It was the first revolution in Asia against a ruling power. More significantly, it was the first revolution in this part of the world that was initiated and led by a man of scanty education; a revolution that was premised on the democratic principles of the dignity of the individual and respect for the rights of man. In fine, it was a revolution in the deepest sense of the word, for it envisaged not merely a change of the political *status quo,* but a sweeping change in the attitude of the people and in human values. Without Bonifacio, it is doubtful whether the Filipinos could have had a chance to show their collective courage and the spirit of an aroused and unified people. Even without the Revolution, America would have crossed the Pacific and snatch the Philippines directly from Spain through a war with which the Filipinos had nothing to do. Hence, were it not for that Revolution of Bonifacio's *Katipunan,* there could not have been a Philippine Republic, for the Philippines would have been handed to America by Spain after the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, and hence, too, there would not have been any Philippine-American War.

I would go farther and say that Bonifacio was the Father of his Country. In the deepest sense of the term, he created the Philippines, meaning by this that he *actually* welded together the feelings of the Filipinos and made them realize that they were a people, not a conglomeration of peoples with divergent aims and, perhaps, mutually antagonistic purposes and interests. Before the Revolution, the term *Filipinos* was not meant to refer to Filipinos but to the Spaniards born in the Philippines; they, the real Filipinos, were mere *natives* or inhabitants of certain groups of islands called the Philippines. But with the coming of the Revolution, the mere inhabitants became Filipinos not only in the ethnic sense, but in the social and political connotations. It was this inescapable reality that led Governor-General Basilio Augustin, who was to be confronted with the might of Commodore George Dewey's Asiatic Fleet, to call the natives *Filipinos* in his attempt to enlist their active help against the Americans.

It is against this background that Andres Bonifacio, whatever his failings, looms large in our history. He was a poor man who felt deeply the immediate needs of his people. He was a dedicated man to whom reality was a dream, and dream a reality. To him the daily injustices that he saw and felt, and the tragedy of Filipino existence, were but a bad dream of a fitful night, which could be banished through self-consciousness. To him, too, the dream of freedom and an unfettered life could be a reality in the depths of the people's own conscious effort as self-sacrifice. It was Bonifacio's imagination that forged the dream and the reality into one.

The result was the realization of the dream and the idealization of reality.

If today we take pride in living and sustaining the democratic tenets with all their implications, it is because we had once an Andres Bonifacio who defied the mighty and the powerful to make history that is both symbol and faith. It is the symbol of love of country, unselfishness, and sacrifices in an epoch that was replete with awesome heroism and that had given hope to the desperate and the dreamless. And it was the faith of our people, who fought with bare hands, in Divine Justice, in the validity and cogency of their cause. It is for this reason that Andres Bonifacio continues to live. For alone among our heroes he gave us that symbol and that faith without which we of the present could not have cherished any historical knowledge.

I for one do not find this symbol and this faith in the writings of our other heroes, for while they were learned and polished, they were nevertheless hesitant; while they were patriotic, they were nevertheless afraid of the future and trembled at its consequences; and while they were willing to die for their country, they were nevertheless afraid of their own people who, they thought, could become the little tyrants of the morrow.

This, then, is Bonifacio's legacy to us: the Symbol and the Faith of our history. We still live in the shadow of this Symbol. We still pray in the spirit of this Faith. Both make up our history, in the deepest sense of the word, and both continue to guide us in our search for a freer, more robust, more spiritual, and more stable life—for our children and the generations after them.

"THE GREATEST FIGURE IN OUR DEMOCRACY"

By Teodoro M. Kalaw

Despite the changes of time, Andres Bonifacio, to my mind, will always be the greatest figure in our democracy, not only because he represented the revolutionary spirit of his age, but also because he symbolized the soul of the people who suffered and at the same time strove earnestly to improve its lot by all means and at all costs. He had the intuition of things, a gift which only providential persons possess.

While the intellectual middle class awaited confidently the reforms asked for and promised, Bonifacio, with the instant and discernment of the masses, had already lost faith in Spain; and while many of his countrymen were satisfied to lead a life of ease in the Oriental fashion, without giving a thought to their position as slaves or to the future of their country, he prepared the masses for a moral revolution by describing to them their sad plight and speaking to them of a NEW DAY which, he said, would come only through union, discipline and sacrifice.

Other countrymen of his considered the fate of the Philippines linked forever to that of Spain. They believed that political separation was visionary, impossible, and national liberty a dream. But Bonifacio talked to the people of the country of their own. He painted it before them as sunk in misery, tyranny and bondage, and urged them to redeem it by force if necessary.

Bonifacio's greatest preachment did not refer only to the political phase of the Philippine problem. It also referred to its social and economic side. He spoke of racial equality as a postulate of universal justice, and severely condemned caste privileges, the domination of man by man, and all the forms of human slavery. He defended the honor and integrity of the Filipino woman as the bed-rock foundation of morality in the family and in society. And with particular venom he attacked the economic exploitation of the land as well as of labor by certain elements which considered themselves privileged.

His propaganda was really Messianic. He was the precursor in the islands of economic, social and political doctrines which only today are being developed among the lower classes of the Philippines.

—*Philippine Free Press,* November 29, 1930.

BONIFACIO, THE FATHER OF THE KATIPUNAN

By Jose Topacio Nueno

In the national history of every people is recorded many a memorable day for patriotic meditation. The Philippines emerging from the infancy of nationalism, has at last dedicated a day of homage and veneration to the man that put into action the sentiment of his people, Andres Bonifacio. At a time when justice was murdered and the majesty of the law was but a thing of mockery and sham, when the freedom of speech was a crime and the vindication of human rights meant death, Bonifacio rose from among his enslaved countrymen in defiance of malignant evils of the time. His was not a sentimental patriotism expressed in sighs, prayers and longings, but in his heart was the purest love of country crystallized in deeds of valor. Rizal wrote: "Bonifacio fought. He stirred his stupified race to a patriotic consciousness that made every bosom feel: 'Give me liberty or give me death'."

His end seems to have been a pathetic mystery. The past might have been cruel to him, the present may be unjust, but the future—the only unerring prophet of human destiny will put him in his deserved immortality. He needs no marble monument to render eternal glory that is his. Upon the rock of eternity rests his undying being which posterity shall revere and emulate. Martyrdom is the price of liberty. He fought for that blessing and gave its price.

His greatness is such. And the greater he is when history recalls that he led a weak but determined people to challenge a master nation, the sovereign of the time. In the academic sense of the modernists, Bonifacio may not rank as a figure of polished intellect, but man is not measured by the infinity or magnitude of his knowledge nor by the number of his degrees, but his service.

So long as a Filipino feels his pulse beat and is conscious of his benighted past made glorious by the sacrifice of the hero of Balintawak and numberless patriots who rose in the armed-vindication of '96, so long will remain cradled in the bosom of the Filipino race the name of Andres Bonifacio, the Father of the Katipunan.

—Aguedo Cagingin, *The Life of Andres Bonifacio*, pp. 44-45.

RIZAL AND BONIFACIO *

By Gabriel F. Fabella
President Emeritus
Philippine Historical Association

We are commemorating today the 98th anniversary of Andres Bonifacio's birth. Two years hence we shall celebrate the centennial of the Great Plebeian. Already the officers and members of the *Kapatirang Alagad ni Bonifacio* are mobilizing their forces for that great event. I have been informed that there is afoot a move to request our Congress to enact a law establishing a Bonifacio Centennial Commission similar to the JRNCC that is taking charge of the centennial celebrations for Rizal.

It may only be a mere coincidence but Bonifacio's month of November this year has added significance. A man of humble beginnings, another plebeian in fact, has been elevated to the highest position within the gift of our people. And this is just exactly where the beauty of democracy lies. Everyone of us, every Filipino in fact, is a potential president of the Republic of the Philippines. This is true for all democracies of the world. The "greatest American" started his career in a log cabin, but by sheer force of character and will-power Abraham Lincoln ended his career in the White House and became God's instrument towards the eradication of the worst cancer of the American Union. The abolition of slavery in the United States seems to be Lincoln's destiny, or better yet, his mission in life.

Speaking of life's mission, does each one of us have a mission? Yes, I am convinced that we all have. God did not create man without a purpose, or He would have wasted his time and effort. My conception of the Supreme Being is sublime. He is all-knowing, and it is needless for me to repeat that He would not waste time for nothing. When he endowed us with certain abilities and capabilities, He did so in order that we may find out what our missions are. It then becomes our bounden duty to ascertain that mission. This a hard task, I know, but with constant striving, you the youth of the land, can find out for yourselves what it is, and the earlier you do, the better. You may consult the psychologists, the guidance experts; you should go down on your knees, if need be, to seek divine guidance. Perhaps through these various ways, you can discover what you are good for. You will then know your mission. After that, you should prepare yourself for God's mission. Then, go about endeavoring to accomplish your assignment to the best of your abilities. And when your turn comes to join that innumerable caravan to that mysterious realm presided by God Himself, you can look Him in the eye, and with head erect say, "My Lord, I have accomplished my mission."

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* Paper read before the Mapua Institute of Technology constituency on November 29, 1961.

In the light of the foregoing remarks, I invite you to join me in an attempt to determine the mission of our president-elect Diosdado Macapagal. The people have spoken and the voice of the people is the voice of God (*vox populi vox dei*). Just what specific mission Macapagal has, only God knows, and perhaps Macapagal too, through the light revealed to him by God.

From what we have been reading in the newspaper including the weekly the *Philippines Free Press* which gives a summary of Macapagal's objectives, we could have a slight preview of what he would do when president. His is a very ambitious program: He would "save the nation" from the morass into which the ship of state has been steered, that is, towards perdition, he says. At least this was the Liberal Party slogan. I venture to say (and I speak not as a Nacionalista, but as a student of history) that if Macapagal could accomplish during his term of office, 50% of his commitments, or perhaps, even a little less, he shall have left on the sands of time footprints that will entitle him to a place side by side with the Great Plebeian. I am praying that for the good of our country the Nacionalista-controlled Congress *may not* adopt a policy of obstructionism to which every indication seems pointing. I am for giving Macapagal a break.

I am also praying that our lawmakers may set aside partisanship in favor of statesmanship. The administration of President Eisenhower could be their precedent. During the eight years that he was in office in the United States, Congress was controlled by the opposition party the Democrats. Instead of obstruction, the Democratic Congress cooperated with Eisenhower in constructive legislation directed towards the promotion of the welfare of the American nation. That was statesmanship of the first order, an intelligent use of patriotism. At this critical period of our history may God enlighten our lawmakers, and be guided by the lofty patriotism of our heroes, particularly, of Bonifacio and Rizal.

Since this is Rizal's centennial year, I believe that it is my duty to say a few words on Rizal. On Monday the fourth of December, and for four days thereafter, the all-the-year-round celebrations will reach its climax with an international congress of Rizalists and historians. This is a great event for all of us, and we are fortunate that we are alive to witness the first Rizal centennial celebration.

It is fitting and proper that the hundredth anniversary of Rizal is being celebrated with greater splendor than the ordinary annual affairs. Jose Rizal is our foremost hero judged from all angles and by all standards, — not an American-made hero as some would have us believe. In a well-reasoned article, Esteban de Ocampo blasted this myth to pieces, so that now there is no more doubt in the minds of anyone—that Rizal occupies the premier position in the galaxy of our national heroes.

And who among our illustrious great can dislodge Rizal from his position of primacy in the national pantheon? Marcelo H. del Pilar? Apolinario Mabini? Manuel L. Quezon? Sergio Osmeña? Manuel A. Roxas? These great men, no doubt, have their share in the building of this nation, but all of them, without any exception, recognize Jose Rizal as their peer.

At this juncture I am reminded of a politician who was elected for seven consecutive terms in Congress. He had become so strongly entrenched in his district that he used to say quite boastfully, "The man who will beat me is not yet born." And yet, when he ran for the eighth term he was badly beaten. This should teach us a lesson that we could not be sure of anything much less in politics. Of course, he was a politician making an assertion. The case of Ferdinand Blumentritt, on the other hand, is different. He was a great scholar and his observations carry weight. The Austrian savant stated that one of Rizal's caliber and genius, appears but once every two hundred years. If we take Blumentritt's words for granted, it is reasonable to expect that no Filipino could scale the heights that Rizal attained before the close of the 20th century.

It is worthwhile noting that most heroes of the West were military leaders. Washington of the North American Republic secured the independence of the thirteen colonies through the might of his arms. Napoleon thrilled the French nation with his splendid victories on the fields of battle. Alexander was called the Great for the same reason. Latin America had Simon Bolivar, Jose de San Martin and others. It is only in the East where the great men are heroes of peace. To that saintly company belongs our own Rizal. Poet, idealist and dreamer like Mazzini, he succeeded in awakening the latent spirit of the lethargic masses of *indios* (called Filipinos now), and forged them through his pen and the shedding of his precious blood into a nation.

In this sense Jose Rizal may be considered as the architect of the Filipino nation. For this, and for the *bibles* that he left to us as permanent legacies, Rizal deserves the undying gratitude of his people who acclaimed him the undisputed national hero of this country. This is also the verdict of scholars as they view him in perspective sixty-five years after his martyrdom. He stands today on a great pedestal with all the halo he deserves.

A similar evaluation I should like to do for Bonifacio. Sixty-four years after his demise has enabled us to have the proper perspective. And this is the one little thought that remains in my subconscious mind: the role that Bonifacio played in the construction of our national edifice. Let us concede that Rizal was the architect, the planner of the blue prints. But of what use is a blue print without an engineer? And here is where Bonifacio comes in. He was the construction engineer of our national edifice. Bonifacio was the brawn as Rizal was the brain. As pointed out Rizal was the poet, the dreamer and the idealist. Taking inspiration from Jose Rizal and from another patriot Marcelo H. del Pilar, he translated into deeds their dreams, their inspirational messages. This is the role that Bonifacio played in the building of the Filipino nation. And this seems also to be his mission in life as he saw it, or as God willed it to be. It is true that before *Engineer* Bonifacio could finish the construction of the edifice (the Filipino nation) his life was cut short, but that does not matter. At the time of his death Bonifacio had started its construction and his mission. Others merely continued the work that he had begun.

It must be acknowledged that Andres Bonifacio was probably the only one in his generation that could have founded the *Katipunan* at the time he did. While it is quite possible that even if Bonifacio did not organize the Katipunan and start the revolution, somebody else would have done so, it must be admitted that it was he who started the Herculean task. Others were indifferent and/or did not possess the courage of the Great Plebeian.

Friends, my message has been delivered. I am almost tempted to say that I have accomplished my mission this morning. Before I close, and with your indulgence, permit to recall a portion of my student life in the Old Manila High School. Until now I can not understand why that early (1913) I was already imbued with admiration and love for our national heroes. This is evidenced by my constant reading about them, and by my frequent visits to the bookstores. I had no money to buy books but it did not matter. My favorite book store was the "Libreria de J. Marinez" located on Calle Rosario, Binondo, Manila. Once or twice a week I walked from Solana street, Intramuros, to Calle Rosario in Chinatown.

What attracted me most in that bookstore was a picture, or rather a symbolic representation of our very illustrious great. The frame contained sketches or likenesses of the "Filipinos Ilustres". I love to look at the faces of the men who made our history. I judged their greatness by the position they occupied in said collection of heroes. On the front row seated at the center was Jose Rizal, so I thought he was the greatest of them all. On his right was Andres Bonifacio, founder of the Katipunan and father of the revolution. On Rizal's left was Apolinario Mabini, the Sublime Paralytic, and the "brains" of the second revolution. Others on the front row were Jose Burgos, Antonio Luna, Marcelo H. del Pilar and two or three more. Standing on the second row were national heroes all, but I surmissed that those were not as important as these seated in front.

As I recall their arrangement now (the heroes), I am struck by the realization that the person who sketched them was possessed with a sense of values. At my present age and experience in life, I am not certain whether I could improve upon that man's evaluation. All that I could do would be to add a few more sketches of men who had since then added luster to the Filipino name. Perhaps a little rearrangement could be suggested in line with historical perspective. So I would like someone to sketch another grouping as to add such names as Manuel L. Quezon, Sergio Osmeña, Manuel A. Roxas, Jose Abad Santos, perhaps Ramon Magsaysay, Recto, Laurel, Aglipay, Aguinaldo, Arellano, Carlos P. Romulo, etc.

What certainly I could not miss in any suggestion for such a modification of the "picture" of *Filipinos Ilustres* is to give prominence to Rizal and Bonifacio. I can visualize what the revised picture would like: Rizal would still dominate the picture; Bonifacio shall be at his right side, Quezon or Osmeña on his left. Rizal the idealist, and the dreamer, Bonifacio the realist; Rizal the brain, Bonifacio the brawn; Rizal the architect, Bonifacio the construction engineer of this our nation. Of course, the picture as a whole should be viewed from present-day perspective, but Jose Rizal and Andres Bonifacio still dominate the scene. These are our foremost heroes! But what a combination! A thinker and a military leader: Rizal could symbolize the Oriental type of hero, Bonifacio the Occidental. Such a symbol of our nation has few parallels elsewhere in world history.

BONIFACIO, KATIPUNAN, KALAYAAN

Rolando O. Fadul *
First Prize, Poetry Division

Ang dilim ng ilang dantaong magdamag
isang hatinggabi'y tinaga ng kidlat,
ang diwa ng lahi'y gumising sa lahat;
nagka-Katipunan at sa isang hudyat
tanang makabaya'y nagtaas ng tabak,
ang buong lupai'y naging Balintawak!

Sa liyab ng sulo at talim ng gulok,
bawa't bilanggua'y agad pinasabog;
binuklod ang lahat ng wikang Tagalog
at mithing kumalag sa pagkabusabos;
tinanggal ang piring, nilagot ang gapos,
bagong Pilipinas ang ibinantayog.

Dagling itinaas ang nagyukong ulo,
mapula rin pala ang dugo ng *Indio,*
taong alipusta'y nagkapuring tao,
banyagang matayog, imbi nang matalo;
Pilipino'y lahing di manganganino
habang may bayaning Andres Bonifacio.

Katipuna'y siyang diwa't panagimpan
ng madlang nabulid sa luksang karimlan:
Datu Lapulapu at Raha Soliman,
Dagohoy, Gomburza, Malong, Diego Silang,
"La Solidaridad" ni Jaena't Del Pilar,
mulang bata'y laging pangarap ni Rizal.

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* Staff member, *Taliba* (Tagalog daily). Winner of Bonifacio Centenary poetry. Copied from the program *Araw Ni Bonifacio, Bayani Ng Maynila.*

Tinipo't sininop ng bunying Tatlong K
ang danas at dunong, adhika't pamana
na hango sa madlang alamat, istorya:
sa paghihimagsik noon sa Pransiya,
sa "Noli" at "Fili", "Florante at Laura",
at sa kapatirang Liga Filipina.

Tinipo't sininop ang dusa't siphayo
na yaman ni Simon: isang takbang ginto
na larawan nitong pitong libong pulo;
mapuputing perlas na luhang nabuo,
mapupulang rubi na patak ng dugo,
kwintas na kadena ng bayang bilanggo.

Itinakwil yaong lisyang pamahiin
na ang isang hari'y sa langit nanggaling,
na ang bawa't pari'y sinlinis ng anghel,
na ang bawa't puti'y dapat dakilain;
pagka't ang brilyante'y nagkristal sa uling,
sa tanging dambana'y sangkap ang buhangin.

Diyan ibinatay ang dakilang mithi
at diyan hinirang ang mayamang binhi;
piitan, tapunan, punlo't pagkasawi
ang wakas ng bawa't sa baya'y magtangi;
sumapit ang huling tadhanang sandali—
himagsikan na lang ang landas ng lahi!

Habang may alipin ay may panginoon,
maamong kalabaw may kawil sa ilong,
subuking talian ang buntot ng leon;
hangga't hinahagkan ang kamay ng among,
ang kamay ring iya'y siyang nagbubuhol
sa leeg ng bayan ng likong relih'yon.

Mabuti ang Diyos, kaya't ang Bathala
araw-gabi'y ating kapiling, kadiwa,
walang kinatawan, sugo't katiwala;
ang bawa't nilikha'y Kanyang pinagpala
sa limang pandamdam, tao ang bahala
magkuro't magtanggol sa katwira't laya.

Pag-ibig sa kapwa ang dapat itampok,
pag-ibig sa baya'y kabanalang lubos;
hindi ang sa kura ay laging pagluhod,
ni ang sa simbaha'y bulag na pagsunod;
ang mabuting gawa't kagandahang-loob
isang kadiyusan sa tao't sa Diyos.

Wala nang ligaya at puring hihigit,
tulad ng sa bayan ay magpakasakit;
tumulong sa aping kalahi't kapatid
at maging uliran sa wastong matuwid
iwaksi ang takot, ang poot at inggit,
maging maharlika sa paghihimagsik.

Kahi't sa panahong katwiran ng lakas
ang nangingibabaw sa labang marahas,
ang puso at budhi ay mayron ding batas;
Katipuna'y sigaw ng api, at tabak,
laya'y babawii't baya'y ililigtas,
dangal at di sumpa ang dalang watawat.

Bukod nga sa Sampung Utos, isang tula
ang kay Bonifaciong iniwan sa bansa:
"Aling pag-ibig pa ang hihigit kaya
sa pagkadalisay at pagkadakila,
gaya ng pag-ibig sa sariling lupa?
Aling pag-ibig pa? Wala na nga, wala."

Himagsikan! Dating tubig na malambot,
biglang naging bahang nagwasak ng muog;
bakal na araro'y naging punlo't gulok,
titis sa talahib, nanalantang sunog;
bayang anong bait ay bulkang sumabog
at pinailanlang ang sigaw sa Diyos.

Bansa'y nagkaisa't naging Katipunan,
nagbigkis ang Luson, Bisaya't Mindanaw,
tatsulok ng walong piling lalawigan;
mulang Pugad-lawin, baya'y nanagumpay,
ang laya'y sa Kawit unang itinanghal
at sa Baraswain naman nagkaaltar.

Gaya rin ni Rizal, Plaridel, Jacinto,
sa dilim nalagas si Gat Bonifacio;
nangamatay silang mga bagong Kristo
upang maibango'y isang bansang bago,
noo'y nagipo na ang lumang imperyo
at ang kayumanggi'y layang Pilipino.

Lumipad na parang limbas ang panahon,
ngayon, ang Supremo'y sandaan nang taon;
may demokrasya na't walang panginoon
ang nagmamalaking bagong henerasyon,
subali't sa bayan ay ating itanong:
si Bonifacio ba'y buhay hanggang ngayon?

"Buhay, laging buhay, at di malilimot"
ang sagot sa isang tinig na mairog:
"tanang kaunlaran sa buong palibot,
itong Republikang bayan din ang tanod
at ang kabataang magiting, malusog...
Bonifacio, hayan ang iyong bantayog."

Bansa'y taas-noong mundo'y minamalas
na pagkakasulong ang kanyang akibat,
sa puso at diwa'y gintong nakasulat:
utang sa Kahapon ang Nagyon at Bukas;
kambal na pag-ibig na walang pagkupas—
Andres Bonifacio! Inang Pilipinas!

ANAK-BAYAN
(Sagisag)

TO THE GREAT PLEBEIAN

By Mauro Mendez

Inglorious Martyr of Democracy,
You whose prophetic mind foresaw the law
And present groundwork of our common life;
Blazer of fecund trails where lay the free,
God-given truths we ever longed to know,
And could not know, because the odiums rod
Of sterner human powers blocked the way;
Wrecker of barriers that entrenched the fear
Of tyrants in their long, relentless sway
Of Saturnalian orgy; Pioneer
Of Filipino rights, who stirred the blood
Of brothers to the action of the strife
    And made the despots quail!
Defiant Proletaire, whose spirit rose
Undaunted from our past colonial woe;
Servant and Guardian of the native Cause,
O Bonifacio, Great Plebeian, hail!
Even against the rude assaults of Time
    Your iron will survives,
And like the phoenix that can never die,
Out of the ashes of the past sublime,
Your soul emerges to the boundless sky,
Repeating to the Fatherland that hears
    Your libertarian Cry!
Unerringly, your fighting genius steers
Our forces onward to repel the crime
    Of lawless human greed;
And if at times we are beset with fears
We know you hold the answer to our need.
We feel you: in the fiber of our thought,
The pristine force of your ideals thrives,
Compelling us to rectilinear paths,
Which your unbending conscience always sought.

We hear you, and the clash of Spartan swords
Accompany your presence; from the dread,
Tumultuous echoes and impetuous wraths
Of consecrated battles, comes the high,
Sententious prayer of your epic words,
To reinforce our courage and to feed
Our bodies with the immaterial bread
Of higher hopes. We hear you: in the noise
Of angry cataracts, your restless soul
Utters its fearless protest, in the fall
Of mighty torrents, your imperious voice
  Resounds with liberty!
You are where mountains totter from their free,
Ethereal eminence, where eagles sweep
Down to their end, in precipices deep,
To languish there unknown, unsung—to sleep
  The sleep of wounded pride!
How much your doctrines in our midst abide,
In sanctuaries Time may not despoil,
How much we hark to your immortal call,
  Genius of human toil!
And on this day, when every native home
Offer its flowers to your memory,
Hear, martyred Champion of Democracy,
Your brother toilers, contrite at your feet,
Raise their vehement prayers to the sky
  To bless your martyrdom,
And in the language of their souls repeat
  Your libertarian Cry!

—*The Sunday Tribune Magazine Section,* November 29, 1925, (Vol. I, No. 35), p. 8.

ANDRÉS BONIFACIO

By Procopio L. Solidum
(Bonifacio Day, Nov. 30, 1921)

Alas! He's dead—forever gone, like a cloud that passed away,
His dust now mixes with those who, to see the sun's bright ray,
Did fight. His memory shall live, his name with us shall stay
As long as there are youths to know his memorial day.
We may have soldiers brave to fight and die for Motherland;
And youths for her rights and colors true will bravely stand;
And heroes great whose names and fame may ring throughout the land—
But we may never see again a man as humbly grand!
And when the day should come when we see these Isles amidst the sea
Shall come to rule by ourselves—in true equality
Of nations great and small—remember that he fought to see
Our dear Philippines a home for all the brave and free!

—Aguedo Cagingin, *The Life of Andres Bonifacio,* p. 46.

PAHIMAKAS NI DR. JOSE RIZAL *

Tagalog version of Andres Bonifacio

Pinipintuho kong Bayan ay paalam,
lupang iniirog ng sikat ng araw,
mutyang mahalaga sa dagat Silangan,
kalualhatiang sa ami'y pumanaw.

Masayang sa iyo'y aking idudulot
ang lanta kong buhay na lubhang malungkot;
maging maringal man at labis alindog
sa kagalingan mo ay akin ding handog.

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* Jaime C. de Veyra, *"El Ultimo Adios" De Rizal: Estudio Critico-Expositivo,* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1946) Appendice Cl, pp. 107-109.

Sa pakikidigma at pamimiyapis
ang alay ng iba'y ang buhay na kipkip,
walang agam-agam, maluag sa dibdib,
matamis sa puso at di ikahapis.

Saan man mautas ay di kailangan,
cipres o laurel, lirio ma'y patungan
pakikipaghamok, at ang bibitayan,
yaon ay gayon din kung hiling ng Bayan.

Ako'y mamamatay, ngayong namamalas
na sa silangan ay namamanaag
yaong maligayang araw na sisikat
sa likod ng luksang nagtabing sa ulap.

Ang kulay na pula kung kinakailangan
na maitina sa iyong liway-way,
dugo ko'y isabog at siyang ikinang
ng kislap ng iyong maningning na ilaw.

Ang aking adhika sapul magkaisip
ng kasalukuyang bata pang maliit,
ay tanghaling ka at minsan masilip
sa dagat Silangan hiyas na marikit.

Natuyo ang luhang sa mata'y nunukal,
taas na ang noo't walang kapootan,
walang bakas kunot ng kapighatian
gabatid man dungis niyong kahihiyan.

Sa kabuhayang ko ang laging gunita
maningas na aking ninanasa-nasa
ay guminhawa ka ang hiyaw ng diwa
pag hingang papanaw ngayong biglang-bigla.

*KATUNGKULANG GAGAWIN NG MGA ANAK NG BAYAN**

Dekálogong sinulat ni **Andrés Bonifacio**

I. Ibigin mo ang Diyos ng buong puso.

II. Pakatandaang lagi na ang tunay na pagibig sa Diyos ay siya ring pagibig sa Tinubuan, at iyan din ang pagibig sa kapwa.

III. Itanim sa iyong puso na, ang tunay na kahalagahan ng puri't kaginhawahan ay ang ikaw'y mamatay dahil sa ikaliligtas ng Inang-Bayan.

IV. Lahat ng iyong mabuting hangad ay magwawagi kapag ikaw'y may hinahon, tiyaga, katuwiran at pag-asa sa iyong inaasal at ginagawa.

V. Pag-ingatan mo, kapara ng pag-iingat sa sariling puri, ang mga pasiya at adhikain ng K.K.K.

VI. Katungkulan ng lahat na ang nabibingit sa malaking kapahamakan sa pagtupad ng kanyang tungkulin ay iligtas sukdang ikapariwara ng sariling buhay at kayamanan.

VII. Ang kaugalian natin sa ating sarili at sa pagtupad ng ating tungkulin ay siyang kukunang halimbawa ng ating kapwa.

VIII. Bahaginan mo ng iyong makakayanan ang sino mang mahirap at kapus-palad.

IX. Ang sipag sa paggawa na iyong ikabubuhay ay siyang tunay na sanhi ng pagibig, pagmamahal sa sarili, sa iyong asawa't mga anak, sa iyong kapatid at mga kababayan.

X. Parusahan ang sino mang masamang tao't taksil at purihin ang mabubuting gawa. Dapat mong paniwalaan na ang tinutungo ng K.K.K. ay mga biyaya ng Diyos; na anupa't ang mga ninasa ng Inang-Bayan, ay mga nasain din ng Diyos.

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* Encarnación Alzona, ed., *Filipino Civic Code* (Philippine Historical Association, 1958), Appendix B, pp. 91-92.

DECALOGUE

Andrés Bonifacio

Translated by **Teodoro A. Agoncillo**[*]

I. Love God with all thine heart.

II. Bear always in mind that the love of God is also the love of country, and this, too, is love of one's fellow-men.

III. Engrave in thy heart that the true measure of honor and happiness is to die for the freedom of thy country.

IV. All thy good wishes will be crowned with success if thou has serenity, constancy, reason and faith in all thy acts and endeavor.

V. Guard the mandates and aims of the K.K.K. as thou guardest thine honor.

VI. It is the duty of all to deliver, at the risk of their own lives and wealth, anyone who runs great risks in the performance of his duty.

VII. Our responsibility to ourselves and the performance of our duties, will be the example set for our fellow-men to follow.

VIII. Insofar as it is within thy power, share thy means with the poor and the unfortunate.

IX. Diligence in the work that gives sustenance to thee is the true basis of love—love for thine own self, for thine wife and children, for thine brothers and countrymen.

X. Punish any scoundrel and traitor and praise all good work. Believe, likewise, that the aims of the K.K.K. are God-given, for the will of the people is also the will of God.

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[*] *The Revolt of the Masses* (Quezon City, U.P. 1956) p. 94.

BOOK REVIEWS

Reviewed by C. O. Resurreccion

Philippine Government and Politics

By Vicente Albano Pacis
Quezon City: Bustamante Press, Inc., 1962
417 pages

This textbook is a welcome departure from the stereotyped way of presenting the subject to college students, which is a mere repetition of the knowledge already gained in high school. The author prepared the book aware of the needs of the instructor and the student and therefore concerned with the process of teaching as well as that of learning. His stress is on the functional aspect of government, and his purpose is to introduce the student into the subtler domain and challenge of politics.

The following features of the book support the author's belief that the purpose has been accomplished: (1) political institutions and procedures are presented in their historical context; (2) the continuity and inter-relationship of political developments are made clear; (3) Philippine nationalism is presented in proper perspective; (4) the study of Philippine Government is fixed at a proper level; (5) the book contains new chapters not prominently treated in other textbooks on Philippine government; and (6) it includes accompanying footnotes and documents, which are useful study aids.

Philippine Government and Politics reflects a wealth of experience, a great deal of insight, and a liberal measure of common sense of the author on the subject. Beginning his varied career as a dedicated newspaperman, journalist, editor, public servant, he is now professor of political science and vice president of a university. But he reverts to his first love now and then, by contributing perceptive articles on current political issues.

The author has a masterly grasp of the evolution and dynamics of Philippine government and politics. The discussion is logical. The language and style are clear and comprehensible to the average college freshman. The digressions are informative and stimulating. The illustrations of critical problems suggest action toward remedial measures. The pictures of Philippine presidents are inspiring, and the organization chart of the executive branch of the government is a valuable instructional aid.

The first ten chapters provide the historical background of the Republic. The book starts off with an introduction, a two-page orientation of the student. The historical background continues up to the introduction to the

Republic of the Philippines (Chapter X), which is likewise brief. The last chapter (Chapter XXIII) is entitled "Solutions and Conclusions."

In the belief that a good review should not be entirely gratuitous, this reviewer has selected some points on which he differs with the author.

The chapter on "The Pre-Spanish and Spanish Background" can stand, it is submitted, a little refinement. For instance, it is not quite correct to say that "the Spanish period of nearly four centuries that followed not only gave the Filipinos considerable political education but . . . also united them into one nationality" (p. 5). Historically, the first schools put up by the Spaniards in the Islands were *only for the Spaniards and the Filipinos.* The term "Filipino" then applied to children born of Spanish parents, both father and mother, in the Philippine Islands. It was not until towards the end of the Spanish rule that mestizos and indios were afforded educational opportunities.

There was no unification to speak of, not even up to the time of the Revolution. Under the formula of *divide et impera,* the Spanish colonial administration employed Filipinos against Filipinos in the suppression of revolts and rebellions. The Reformers and Propagandists who initiated the movement for nationalism and unification, had their headquarters in Barcelona and Madrid, too distant to be effective in the mother country.

The principal Spanish contributions to the political education of the Filipinos (pp. 5-8) appears to be unacceptable *in toto.* The first contribution—*the implementation of a regime of laws*—has no historical support. Wanton disregard of laws and decrees was the order of the day, so much so that the institution of *residencia,* or trial of the outgoing governor-general, could not be dispensed with. The second contribution—*providing the Filipinos experience in government*—may be accepted with a grain of salt. True, the *indio* was privileged to be appointed *gobernadorcillo,* the highest political position he could attain. But a *gobernadorcillo* was the equivalent of a barrio lieutenant today. What was the training of the *gobernadorcillo?* He was a mere puppet—a puppet in the sense that he could not act without the approval of the local parish priest, who was a friar. (*Vide,* M. H. del Pilar, "La Soberania Monaca!" published in *La Solidaridad.*)

The third contribution—*the implantation of Christianity*—is well taken. It may be pointed out, however, that there are those who lament the disappearance, through systematic destruction, of our endogenous culture which the present generation is trying to re-discover in the current cultural renaissance movement.

The establishment of an educational system, the fourth contribution, needs some qualifications. While the University of Santo Tomas could be shown as twenty-five years older than Harvard, the fact remains, and historical documents do prove, that it was, together with the other *colegios* established, for the Spaniards and the Filipinos, not for the *indios.* In fact, towards the close of the nineteenth century there was a movement for Hispanization and for the establishment of a Castilian academy so that the natives, the *indios,* could be taught Spanish. This reviewer does not find it necessary to comment on the sixth contribution—*unifying and maintaining the Philippines territorially intact.*

The chapters on the Congress of the Philippines and the President of the Philippines lay emphasis on functions and powers. As a result, the author has included some of the crises through which the Republic has recently undergone. Among these are: the suspension of Congressman Sergio Osmeña, Jr. for a speech he delivered in the hall of Congress attacking Carlos P. Garcia; the creation of two Commissions on Appointments, each claiming to be the legitimate body under the Constitution, resulting from the power struggle during the first session of the Fifth Congress; the controversies on the nature of the congressional function of canvassing the votes cast for President and Vice-President, whether the function is ministerial or discretional; the creation of, and criticism against, the presidential electoral tribunal; the question of succession to the presidency by the vice-president; the extent of the outgoing President's appointing power, as exemplified by the now notorious "midnight appointments."

One more point needs extended comment. The author states that "the Vice-President becomes President when any of six conditions arises" (p. 133 seq.), and he proceeds to enumerate the six conditions, which were taken from sections 6 and 8 or Article VII of the Constitution.

A reading of said sections will show that the vice-president by express constitutional provision "becomes president" only in one case. Thus, section 6 provides:

> If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President shall *become President.* If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President shall *act as President until* a President shall have qualified . . (Italics supplied.)

In the first case, death of the President-elect, the Vice-President *becomes* President. In the two other cases, the Vice-President does not become but he *merely acts* as President.

Section 8 provides:

> In the event of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the *powers and duties* of the said office, the same shall *devolve on* the Vice-President... (Italics supplied.)

The constitutional provision clearly does not make the Vice-President an heir to both rank and the duties and functions of the President.

If heretofore the vice-presidents defied the constitutional mandate, namely, that the powers and duties of the President shall merely devolve on the Vice-President, it is about time that the practice of the Vice-President arrogating to himself also the rank should be curbed.

The last chapter dwells on healthy subjects; moral regeneration, adherence to principles, social and economic justice, collective security. These, the author believes, are reliable guideposts for the Republic of the Philippines.

With the exception of the foregoing points on which this reviewer, in the exercise of his constitutional right to dissent, differs from the views of the author, the whole text is admirable. The appearance of the book should be an occasion for every Filipino to review once more his knowledge of Philippine government and politics, for every booklover to increase his Filipiniana collection, for the student of political science to further develop in himself a more critical insight into the art of politics and government.

The Writings and Trial of Andres Bonifacio
Collected and Translated by Teodoro A. Agoncillo
With a Foreword by Mayor Antonio J. Villegas
Manila, 1963. 132 pages.

The Trial of Andres Bonifacio
The Original Documents in Tagalog Text
and English Translation by Virginia Palma-Bonifacio
With an Historical Introduction by Carlos Quirino
and Preface by Miguel A. Bernad, S.J.
Ateneo de Manila, 1963: Manila
Pages 63, 48.

There are two translations of note commemorating the first centenary in 1963 of the birth of Andres Bonifacio, the Great Plebeian, founder and supremo of the *Katipunan*.

One is *The Writings and Trial of Andres Bonifacio* by Professor Teodoro A. Agoncillo and the other, *The Trial of Andres Bonifacio* by Mrs. Virginia Palma-Bonifacio. The former tried to retain, and has succeeded retaining, the "atmosphere" of the period and the "flavor" of the original text in Tagalog without sacrificing readability in English. The latter is done in idiomatic English, in an easy style that saves the reader from the difficult and complicated syntax of the original. The titles suggest the coverage of each of the two publications.

The Agoncillo opus was prepared and published under the auspices of Mayor Antonio J. Villegas and the Manila Bonifacio Centennial Commission in cooperation with the University of the Philippines, with the collaboration of S. V. Epistola of the U. P. Institute of Asian Studies.

In his *Foreword* Mayor Villegas explains how the book came to be written, saying that the Manila Bonifacio Centennial Commission, which he created, requested one of its distinguished members, Professor Teodoro A. Agoncillo, an outstanding historian and scholar, to prepare the book. Mayor Villegas' view of the function of history bears repetition: "History does not merely instruct but also humanizes us and prepares us to live by the values of good men—when are likewise the values of good government."

The *Introduction* by the author and his collaborator gives a very concise background statement on Bonifacio's trial and points out the shaky position of Carlos Quirino in demurring to Agoncillo's contention that Colonel Pantaleon Garcia was not the Judge Advocate at the trial of the hero (see Agoncillo's *The Revolt of the Masses*).

The Ateneo publication, *The Trial of Andres Bonifacio,* reproduces in facsimile the original script documents. It includes a lengthy *Historical Introduction* by Carlos Quirino, Director of the Bureau of Public Libraries, which orientates the reader to the historical context of Bonifacio's trial and execution. The preface comes from the pen of Miguel A. Bernad, S.J., a well-known literary critic and scholar.

Apropos Father Bernad's statement, "Indeed, this is precisely the value of an edition such as the present one: it allows the documents to speak for themselves. Any scholar may now read the record and draw his own conclusions," this reviewer concurs conditionally. His claim would be true provided the reader skips the excellent Historical Introduction and proceeds reading immediately the documents.

For, as Father Bernad himself states in the *Preface,* "Director Quirino has taken a position which, on the whole, is favorable to General Emilio Aguinaldo." Thus the reader who reads first Quirino's scholarly introduction is likely to catch the contagion of the author's bias and hence approach the documents through another's colored eyeglasses.

In Agoncillo's book the inclusion of the extant writings, in prose and poetry, of Andres Bonifacio enables the reader to mold a favorable, correct image of the hero. The hero was not the illiterate ignoramus that he was pictured to be. His writings reveal his true self, his intense patriotism, his lofty ideals and noble thoughts, his enlightened humanism, his strength of character, his great ethical values.

The character of Bonifacio is not, and could not be, unfolded from the documents of the trial alone. The testimonies of witnesses, who apparently were privy to a conspiracy to destroy the *supremo* in the bitter power struggle, were of self-serving character, therefore vitiated, and should be regarded with extreme caution. Moreover, as the enveloping conflict worsened, Bonifacio felt provoked and was under strong psychological tension; he was not himself.

It was on the basis of the insurgent records of the trial and execution that Bonifacio has been pre-judged by some as a "ruthless leader," who "loudly and angrily ordered," who possessed "autocratic manner," who exhibited "angry reaction," etc.

But read Bonifacio's writings. No one who has read the *Decalogue* can miss Bonifacio's love of God, country and fellowmen, and his high regard for the dignity of man. No one who has read his poem *Love of Country* can miss his sublime thoughts, his nobility of character, his lyrical soul. Only men who have no music in their soul, says the bard of Stratford-on-avon, are fit for treason and stratagem.

To know Bonifacio it is better to study him in his writings than in the records of the trial. The records may be good materials for the study of the power struggle during the revolution but not for the study of the man. They do not only disfigure but destroy the hero's image. To assert that Andres Bonifacio was a despicable character is tantamount to saying that he is undeserving of all the esteem and honor the people have been bestowing upon him especially during the centenary of his birth, that he is not worthy of the two publications herein reviewed.

But Not In Shame: The Six Months After Pearl Harbor

by John Toland
Signet Book: New York: 1962, 454 pp. Index, Maps

Why did Japan declare war on a nation as powerful as the U.S.? Did Roosevelt use Pearl Harbor as a bait to lure the Japanese into war? Why was half of MacArthur's Air Force caught on the ground at Clark Field by the Japanese bombers ten hours after Pearl Harbor? Why did Singapore's vaunted defenses fall apart so abruptly? What caused the crushing Allied defeat in the Battle of Java Sea? Did Roosevelt and Marshall stab MacArthur in the back in the Philippines? What were the true facts behind the two greatest surrenders in American military history, at Bataan and Corregidor? Did the Japanese plan the murder of thousands of American and Filipino prisoners in the "Death March"? What were the mistakes that brought disaster to the Japanese at Midway? (Authors note p. vii) This and many more questions are set to be answered in John Toland's *But Not in Shame.*

The first six months also gave birth to a number of myths. Many Americans still believe that Captain Colin Kelly sank a Japanese battleship, that thousands of spies infested Hawaii in 1941, that Major Jimmy Devereaux radioed from Wake: Send us more Japs. (p. vii)

An examination of the first six months after the "Day of Infamy" is necessarily painful, for it was a period of defeat. It was a most challenging period for American arms. "No segment of World War II was more colored by American and British politics than this period of steady, alarming defeats in the Pacific. Consequently the truth was often clouded over by polemic and political expedience." (p. vii)

A part of the book of interest to Filipino readers is Part III, the "Battle for Bataan". It starts with the inauguration of Quezon and Osmeña for the second term while at the same time convoys were converging to Bataan according to plans. The retreat into Bataan well executed and orderly. The first line was established at Abucay which was soon pressed by Japanese forces forcing the defenders to a second a last line of defense.

The author has waded through various official and unofficial sources including interviews from participants, documents from the Japanese Research Division of the Military History Section, U.S. General Headquarters, Far East, 30 volumes of testimony at Homma's trial, besides books published on the period.

The author's own conclusion may be quoted to show his objectivity:

> The first six months of the war in the Pacific had been fought by poorly trained, ill-equipped and, in many cases, ineptly led soldiers and sailors. These men had been flung into battle without knowing the true nature of their enemies. They had been forced to fight with bullets, fuel and food strictly budgeted. That they were forced into a series of disastrous retreats and humiliating surrenders was no fault of theirs. It is true they often fought to not avail; but not in shame.
>
> Nor did the military leaders deserve the calumny many critics were already heaping on them. The essential blame for the disasters of these six months should not have been laid on Kimmel, Short, MacArthur, Percival, Wavell, or Helfrich; even less on the political leaders, Roosevelt and Churchill, who had been begging for arms long before the battle came. *The entire people of America and Great Britain were responsible for the scandalous state of unpreparedness in the Far East."* (p. 436) (Italics supplied.)

The importance of the book is in being able to gather a thousand unrelated facts and assembling it into an understandable narrative. Certainly, the author has succeeded in portraying the first six months after Pearl Harbor.

Japan And The Philippine 1868-1898

By Josefa M. Saniel

University of the Philippines, Q. C., 1963, 269 pp.
Appendices, Bibliography, Index

Philippine-Japan relations is a comparatively new field in Philippine historiography, and Josefa M. Saniel's *JAPAN AND THE PHILIPPINES 1868-1898* is a pioneering work along these lines. The book covers three decades in the later part of 19th century, the very same time when Japan was modernizing. The book aims to fill a gap in the above mentioned period, and is limited to the study of "official, formal, government-to-govermnent" relation between the two countries.

The monograph was originally written as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Michigan. As is expected of monographs, it has a veritable mine of source material taken from Japan, Philippine and United States, such as the Diet Library, Toko University Library, Michigan University library, and interviews. Assuming that the author's command of the language is competent, the book is certainly useful for the translations of some documents found.

The first chapter deals with the background contact between the official relations of the two countries before 1868, the second with "probing activities and opened negotiations . . . which led to the establishment of a Japanese consulate in Manila in 1888. . . ." (p. ix, Preface). The third and fourth chapter deals with men and ideas after 1888, her terminal date which were ". . . influenced by the ideas of Japanese nationalists" who urged expansion to the Philippines in the late 1880's and early 1890's as means of solving their country's national and international problems" (p. ix).

The three next chapters deal with "significant episodes in Japanese Philippine relations reflecting the ideas expounded by the nationalists." (p. ix).

That the Philippines was coveted "because of its strategic location" and its "abundant natural resources" and "its relatively unexploited market" (p. 269) would be true not only for the period covered but likewise during the years prior to World War II.[1]

The author has conveniently divided the three decades into two parts: (1) 1868-1888 and (2) 1888-1898. During the first period the governments maintained "cordial relations which enabled Japanese and American officials, as well as Spain's representatives in Japan to regularize Philippine diplomatic and trade relations" (p. 270). The second period was "marked by increased Japanese pressure for trade, immigration and possible conquest" (p. 271).

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[1] Uldarico S. Baclogan, *Philippine Campaigns* (Manila; Graphic House, 1952), p. 141.

The arguments advanced for the second period were:

> (a) the existence of a 'surplus population' for which outlets had to be found; (b) the need for raw materials and food as a result of increasing industrialization; and (c) the right to preventive self-defense; and the (d) responsibility of carrying out a mission of civilizing and aiding backward areas of the world such as Philippines whose people ... had to be saved from the Spanish colonial official's maladministration... (p. 272)

One group of writers "favored direct territorial expansion and closer ties" p. 272).

The author admit that there was no smooth sailing in the relations of the two countries, and she mentions five: (1) changing tariff regulations, (2) inefficiency and corruption of Manila's Customs House. (*sic.*) (3) lack of local currency, and (4) inadequate shipping facilities, and lastly (5) ...political instability of the Spanish colony" (p. 272).

After 1888 the trade and activities of Japanese nationals outside Oceania increased which led to the apprehension of the Spaniards over Japanese intentions. She concludes that, "Japanese official policy was not directly concerned with the Philippines but only "peripherally" (p. 273).

In the second period (1888-1898), the Japanese policy of "strict non-intervention in Philippine affairs and neutrality during the Spanish American war was closely adhered to by the civilian arm..., while the military officers (*shishi*) were daring and opportunitistic" and sent officers here as observers. (p. 274).

However, examining the whole period, Dr. Saniel concludes that "Japanese interest was not sufficiently strong...to consider direct involvement or annexation." (p. 275).

On the debit side, the book suffers from prolexity of footnotes which the author herself admits when she said "I would like to apologize to the reader for the excessive number and length of footnotes" (p. xiii) and justifies it on the ground that the work is "pioneering" (p. xiii). Of course, one way of solving the problem could be by explanatory notes at the end of the chapter However, Dr. Saniel preferred to have it in the footnotes, a choice which has to be assumed sometimes.

All in all, the book is a contribution to a novel aspect of Philippine historiography, the relations between the land of the Chrysanthemum and the Sampaguita. Let us hope the author updates her investigation to World War II and even after. The author has definitely succeeded in "filling the gap." That it is a pioneering work is unabashedly admitted by the writer. It is hoped that other scholars may study the same problem so we may have a variety of interpretations.

Jose Rizal On His Centenary

Edited by Leopoldo Y. Yabes

Quezon City, Office of Research Coordination
University of the Philippines, 1963, 269 pp.

The collection of essays edited by Professor Leopoldo Y. Yabes, although belated is indeed a "contribution . . . to the celebration of the centenary of Dr. Jose Rizal" (p. viii, preface). One has to read the essays to be able to agree that the articles are "an index to the kind and quality of thinking being done in the University in connection with the Rizal tradition" (p. vii). Except for the introductory essay by the editor, all the essays in the anthology have been published.

The reprinting of Dr. Cesar A. Majul's "Critique of Rizal's Concept of a Filipino Nation" is much welcome since the essay is no longer available to the general reading public. The author starts with the view that Rizal's concept of a nation was a "moral one" (p. 29).

Majul by examining LA INDOLENCIA DE LOS FILIPINOS comes to the conclusion that we lacked a "national sentiment" and therefore he [Rizal] was duty bound to bring it about. Majul avers that there were "two communities during Rizal's lifetime" a "political community" named the Spanish colony, and the other the "Christian (Catholic) community" although he admits that the distinction between the two is merely a "conceptual one" (p. 31).

Rizal's annotation of *Morga's* work for the purpose of creating a "national tradition" (p. 34) that could serve as a "cohesive bond" to hasten the formation of a national community by instilling a "consciousness of the past." Rizal's annotation was done to make the past of the Philippines "significant" as "only a historical people. . . could utilize the past as a guide for future aspirations. . ." (p. 34).

The *Liga Filipina* was aimed to serve "as an organizational tool to concretize this community. What is intended to do was to lay the foundations on which a national community could be built" (p. 35). The primary aim of the *Liga* was to "help the formation of a new community that was both *national* and *Filipino* in character" by the "establishment of certain economic, moral, and social relations among its members" (p. 36).

The term "Filipina" in the Liga "suggested the character regarding its aim to awaken national consciousness" (p. 36). The Filipino community was to "competitive, corrective, and instructive" (p. 37), and explains each of them. The Liga was a "panacea" for some of the basic social maladies of the period.

The chapter of the *Noli,* "A Schoolmaster's Difficulty" reflected the "educatinal ills" while "The Story of a Mother" in the same novel reflected "social maladies" (p. 43). The intention in the third and unpublished novel was "to develop consciousness of a common heritage" (p. 47).

The discussion of Rizal the political philosopher, I would think is the best part of Majul's essay. Here, the writer keenly analyzes the "problem of political obligation" (p. 49). The revolution and the national community is also discussed. Actually what Rizal did was to search for a "moral justification" of a national community. One were the members "'were related by common and definite aspirations, whose social directions was well-known and well-laid, were education was the rule and each member knew his rights and obligations, where mutual responsibility was recognized, and where the national sentiment prevailed" (p. 55).

Regarding Rizal's stand on revolution, Majul sets forth one condition before revolution when "the people were first integrated into a national community" (p. 62). "Such a community would...fight in a corporate capacity in the name of and in the interest of the national community" (p. 62).

The next essay by foremost living Filipino historian Teodoro A. Agoncillo poses the question of whether Rizal was a "revolutionary" or a "theoretical revolutionist" (p. 98). The piece concludes that in studying the characters of the two novels Rizal was both. Rizal was not "against revolution *per se* but one that has no direction, one that is disorderly and, . . . would only result in useless bloodshed" (p. 101). The two conditions for Rizal's acquiescence are "(1) military preparation" and "(2) responsible leadership" (p. 102) and both are defined.

Rizal was therefore a "dual personality . . . a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" (p. 102) a split between "idealistic and nobility, and pessimism and dissilusionment" (p. 103). Rizal's ethic of revolution consisted of two factors: "preparation and education" (p. 105). Rizal thought the Philippine Revolution was "premature, unwise and useless" (p. 107). The author then suggests that Rizal was "isolated" in Dapitan, and for this reason "failed to grasp the varied threads of the people's life and to weave them into a coherent mosaic" (p. 107). Rizal was "preoccupied with order in society... And so while Rizal love freedom for his people nevertheless stressed the necessity of order as a fundamental requirement for such freedom, for in a confused and disorderly society freedom would only be a mockery" (p. 107). "His feeling or order triumphed over his feelings of freedom" which showed an "inner conflict" (p. 108).

Dr. Ricardo R. Pascual's "Rizal's Philosophy of History" advances the "institutional interpretation" of Rizal's novels by which the characters are taken to represent "cultural institution or social movement" (p. 77), and gives samples of his "institutional interpretation." He debunks the generally popularized concept that Rizal is a historian but rather that he was a "philosopher of history" (p. 75) admitting that Rizal was a "more critical student of historical processes and social movements" (p. 75).

Dr. Encarnacion Alzona's "Rizal and the Reformist" suggests that the Propagandists were really "reformists" (p. 109) because a propagandist would have a shady connotation to mean one "who uses fair or foul means to put across something, an unscrupulous person who will stop at nothing to get what he is after" (p. 109). She discusses the *modus operandi* of the reformists, Rizal's answers to his detractors, the foreign friends of the reformist like Blumentritt, Morayta, Pi y Margall (pp. 118-121).

President Sinco's "Rizal and Education" treats of Rizal as an educationist and an evolutionist.

Ricaredo Demetillo's "Rizal's Cogency for Our Time" has the tone of an angry young man. We wonder what he is so mad about. His observations have a searing intensity and the attack on sectarianism is glaringly obvious.

The first and the last essays were written by the editor. In the introductory essay, he would discuss the two intellectual traditions found in the Philippines, the clerical and the secular, and that the Rizal tradition belongs to the later category. The last essay answers the question of Rizal's validity for our times and answered it affirmatively. Hernando Abaya's "Rizal and Human Freedom" is refreshing.

On the whole the editor has successfully presented "the more liberal school of thought on the campus" (p. vii). Except for typographical errors which is almost unavoidable, the book is a distinct contribution to Rizaliana and Filipiniana. It is also to be noted that some of the ideas are overlapping, as to be expected, so that Agoncillo, Majul, and Demetillo would all discuss Rizal and the revolution with varying conclusions. The editor has done a superb job of putting together the opus. Except for its prohibitive price, the book ought to be a welcome addition to Rizalists and pseudo-Rizalists.

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